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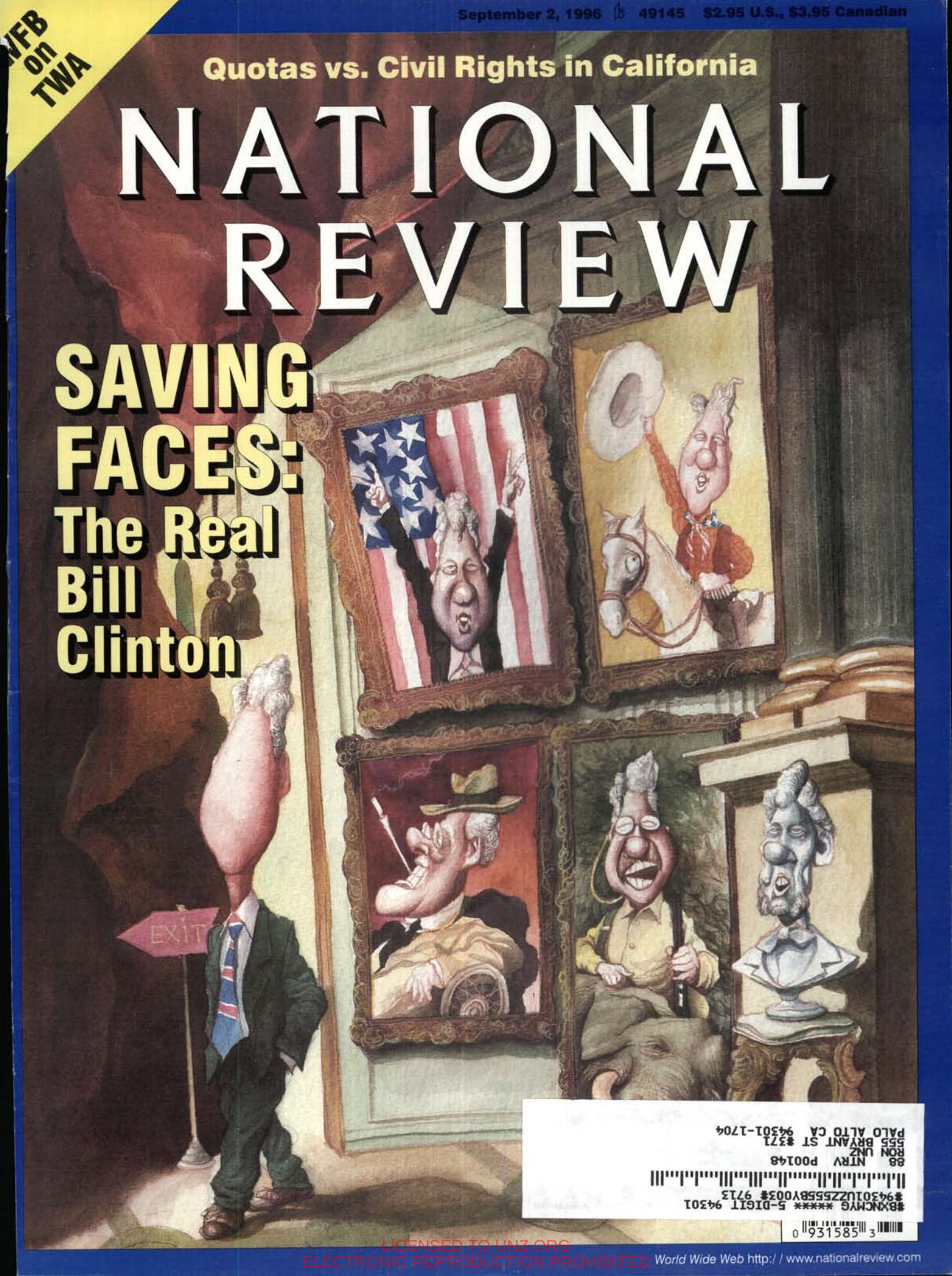

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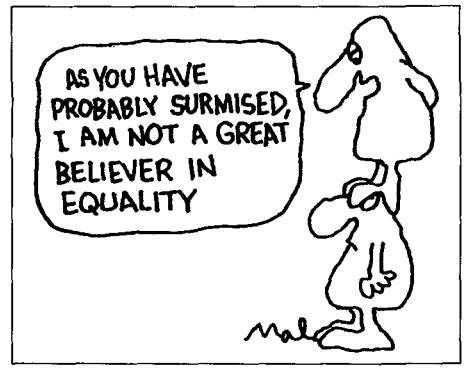

The Real Clinton

In our account of the Clinton years, **Ramesh Ponnuru** looks at the political stratagems of the Potemkin Presidency (p. 38), **Robert Rector** recalls endless vacillations in welfare policy (p. 40), **Grace-Marie Arnett** gives socialized medicine an overdose (p. 42), **David Kopel** wonders whether the Administration's crime policy will pay (p. 43), **Terry Eastland** says that Clinton has the race card in trumps (p. 44), **Abigail Thernstrom** explains how the Justice Department is overruling the Supreme Court (p. 45), **John Fonte** asks why the melting pot is on the back burner (p. 48), **Balint Vazsonyi** remembers America to Bob Dole (p. 54), **Rosemary Jenks** accuses Clinton of dual citizenship on immigration (p. 56), **Joshua Muravchik** reminds Clinton that the world is a dangerous place (p. 57), **Peter Samuel** gores the Administration's environmental fundamentalism (p. 60), **Alan Reynolds** weighs the harvest from the seven lean years (p. 62), **Bruce Bartlett** explains why the poor aren't getting richer (p. 63), **William Niskanen** looks at worker productivity (p. 64), **Lawrence Kudlow** wants to cut the growth deficit (p. 65), **Stephen Moore** has no deficit delusions (p. 66), **Daniel Mitchell** spikes tax hikes (p. 68), **Thomas Hopkins** calculates the cost of re-regulation (p. 70), **Kate O'Beirne** contemplates Commissar Hillary (p. 71), **Rich Lowry** shows the devil is in the details (p. 72), **Christina Hoff Sommers** finds feminists on the loose (p. 74), **James Bovard** tells HUD to go home (p. 77), **Samuel Dealey** discovers discrimination there (p. 78), **Hadley Arkes** walks out on Clinton's sermonizing (p. 80), **Rael Jean Isaac** catches Justice cutting deals with mobsters (p. 82), and **Mark R. Levin** catalogues the Clinton scandals (p. 84).

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Rich Lowry introduces Ward Connerly. . . . **Johnathan Sunley** says Bosnia is a powder keg—but savable. . . . **Karina Rollins** confabulates with Libertarian Harry Browne.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

89 Before writing *Up from Conservatism*, instructs **Richard Brookhiser**, Michael Lind should have boned up *on* conservatism. . . . **Florence King**, clenched in displeasure from reading Michael Lind's bucking attempt at a novel, *Powertown*, yells, "Lawd a'mercy!" . . . In *War Before Civilization* Lawrence H. Keeley notes that civilization is not the root of all evil; nature is, claims Lyall Watson in *Dark by Nature*. **Robert Edgerton** agrees. . . . In *Terry: My Daughter's Life-and-Death Struggle with Alcohol* by George McGovern, **Carol Buckley** finds a loving father, but no answers. . . . **John Simon** feasts at *The Spitfire Grill* and considers *Manny & Lo* fine company, but would rather not go *Trainspotting*. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** says bring on the Gershwin, but hold the schmaltz. . . . Shakespeare is at home in a repertory company, explains **Linda Bridges**, where there truly are no small parts.

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Florence King tells ghost stories.

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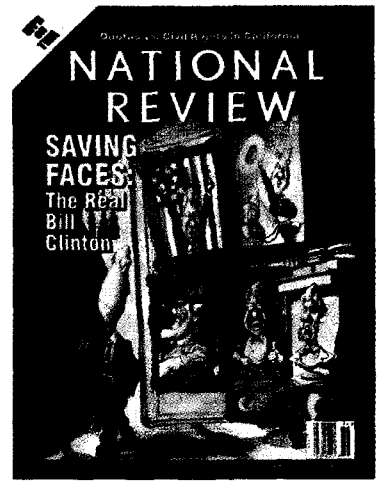

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LETTERS

Epic Matches

Jeffrey Hart's "Lively Ghosts of Wimbledon" [July 15] extols the virtuosity of Don Budge in his epic match against Baron von Cramm. In the early Sixties, Budge, then definitely overweight, made an appearance at our tennis club, conducting a clinic. That was in the morning. At lunch I saw him drink two whiskey sours. A half-hour later he played an exhibition set with our "pro," who was in his twenties, an outstanding and nimble athlete with a well-developed Class A game.

Notwithstanding age, weight, and alcohol, Budge consistently scored points at will. Imagine a talent that two potent drinks, on top of an age handicap of some thirty years, could not suffice to bring down to the level of an accomplished and superbly fit local player.

Stuart T. Martin
Burlington, Vt.

Questions of Honor

Fine. Ralph de Toledano ["Not without Smear," May 20] still carries the torch for Joe McCarthy and J. B. Matthews, who don't fare very well in *Not without Honor*. But that doesn't give him the right to start his review with a lie, keep on lying, and finish with a reprise of his first lie.

Toledano begins his harangue by deriding me for writing that the Bolsheviks overthrew the social democrats in the November 1917 revolution, and condescendingly informs me that it was Kerensky who was overthrown by the Bolsheviks (something he could have read a few pages later). But Kerensky, a Socialist Revolutionary, *was* leading a coalition of various stripes of social democrats at the time of the November revolution. That I do not give the complete order of battle for the Russian revolutions does not mean I do not know it. What I wrote was accurate. Toledano also labors under the delusion that I have Bill Buckley down as a liberal anti-Communist. Is he nuts? Buckley is just where he ought to be, among the heroes of conservative anti-Communism.

The real motive behind Toledano's rant is not my alleged ignorance, but that my assessment of anti-Communist history is radically different from the one he tries to foist off with buncombe and bluster. My book goes far beyond liberal/conservative stereotypes. *Not without Honor* describes American anti-Communism as a pluralistic nation's reaction against a Communist movement it despised. I do not brush aside cases of American Communist disloyalty. Far from it: I give those who exposed treason due credit, though I do not gloss over their faults. Irresponsible demagogues like Toledano's heroes misused the truth to discredit a noble cause and turn it into something many decent Americans saw as an abomination.

I do not see any way around my conclusion that countersubversives like McCarthy were a disaster for the movement, and Toledano's irresponsible review only underlines the validity of that judgment.

Richard Gid Powers
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Can We Say Something Nice?

Since NATIONAL REVIEW has gotten into the habit of scolding every conservative who utters a nice word about immigrants, you predictably don't overlook our *Reader's Digest* article on the benefits of legal immigration ["A Digest of Myths," June 17]. But in challenging our argument that less-skilled immigrants do not "steal" jobs from the native born, you advance an idea usually heard from the trade-union Left, not the free-market Right. "If no immigrants are available to fill [low-paying jobs], then either wages will rise to a level at which Americans are prepared to do them, or the jobs will be done by machines," contends *NR*. Well, maybe. But as Ed Rubenstein points out in "Right Data," which appeared on the same page as the editorial criticizing us, "Wage pressure is perhaps the most important factor in generating inflation." Hmmm. Does this mean that it's finally time for *NR* to say something nice about immigrants, who appear to keep inflation low and purchasing power high?

Linda Chavez
Center for Equal Opportunity
John J. Miller
Heritage Foundation
Washington, D.C.

For a reply, please see "The Week."

Desperately Seeking Revival

I agree with Robert Rector ["God and the Underclass," July 15] that the Church is the solution to the problem of how to recivilize the underclass. Evangelicals have been preaching this solution for a long time. However, the obstacle Mr. Rector did not address is that most churches today have become as secularized and spiritually corrupt as the rest of our society. Can we really expect that mainstream denominations, which routinely ordain women and homosexuals as ministers, will lead the way to a genuine moral and spiritual revival for the rest of the country? They are dominated by the same liberal/elitist world-view which created the underclass in the first place. If these churches are to lead the way to moral reformation for our citizenry, they must first revive themselves.

As a Christian, I pray this revival will come. If it does not, heed Machiavelli's words from his *Discourse*: "If the rulers of Christian lands had kept religion true to the principles set down by its founder, the states and republics of Christendom would be . . . happier . . . But there is no better evidence of its decline than to see how the people who are closest to the Church of Rome, the center of our religion, have the least faith. Anyone examining the principles of our religion and observing how far present practice has strayed from them would doubtless conclude that ruin or severe punishment is at hand."

Paul Doolittle
Crofton, Md.

Battle for the Soul

Your comment ["The Week," July 15] on the possible decent responses of Christians wanting to convert Jews reeks of a hubris and triumphalism that I had thought had eroded, at least among enlightened Christians. Most of the time, Christian missionizing was not "decently" done to Jews, American Indians, or residents of any non-Christian country. Throughout history, when they were not killed, burned, tortured, enslaved, or oppressed by outright Christian hate, this was done in the name of Christian love or superiority.

There are some added ironies in your apologetic for the Southern Baptists, whose historical opposition to civil rights and Catholicism is shameful. Today's Southern Baptists have forgotten that *they* were once persecuted as menaces to the true Protestant faith. While tremendous progress has been made in Christian–Jewish relations, particularly between Catholics and Jews, I wonder about any Christian bent on saving Jewish souls, when so many were either silent or accessories to their destruction during the Holocaust. To his credit, Pope John Paul has courageously acknowledged the inadequacy of the Catholic Church at that time.

Christians who insist on converting Jews would have more credibility if they first made better Christians out of Christians.

Philip Perlmutter
Newton, Mass.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Impersonations

■ Mr. Clinton is our principal subject in this special Convention issue. We concede him some virtues, but the underlying theme, brilliantly captured by Roman Genn's cover, is that the President is a sincere fraud, a gifted amateur actor metamorphosing into whatever political identity is suitable to that day's audience, believing the lines as he speaks them, however much they contradict the lines he delivered yesterday.

That raises a question: what is he *really* like? What is he like when there's no audience, when he's alone in a room?

Someone once put that very question to Maynard Keynes about a very similar character, Lloyd George, known as the "Welsh Wizard" for his combination of charm and unreliability.

"When Lloyd George is alone in a room," Keynes replied, "there's nobody there."

■ I have sometimes wondered, however, if another British politician was not the model for Bill Clinton. Remember that he was a student at Oxford, still impressionable, in the late Sixties, when British politics was dominated by Labour's Harold Wilson.

Wilson too was charming, good-natured, a policy wonk possessed of brilliant natural gifts (notably a photographic memory and high intelligence), a natural actor, and without fixed loyalties or principles.

He rose to the premiership as the champion of the Labour left and then betrayed it comprehensively. He repeatedly dished the Tories by stealing such of their policies as were popular. And, in a dazzling series of impersonations, he appeared before the public as an East of Suez imperialist like Disraeli, the devoted Servant of the Queen like Melbourne, and the stern upholder of financial rectitude like Gladstone.

Of course, within a short time he had withdrawn British forces from the Persian Gulf and devalued the pound. And it's probably fortunate for the Queen that the Monarchy remained popular in the Sixties.

But such were Wilson's political skills that he actually benefited from his maneuvering. He was appreciated as a sort of Artful Dodger whose reversals and retreats were chuckled at rather than condemned.

Bill Clinton must have been impressed by this virtuoso high-wire act. He would have noticed that Wilson's main insight was that rhetoric could disguise rather than explain policy, boasting of Labour's compassion when his government was cutting social benefits and calling for a return to the "Three R's" when his government was closing down grammar schools. And when Clinton was writing that famous letter wriggling out of the draft, he may even have drawn for inspiration on Wilson's Vietnam policy—which was to give the U.S. all assistance short of help.

Time wounds all heels. The voters eventually came to disbelieve anything Wilson said, so that in 1970 he could not persuade them of the fact that the economy was in good shape, and he lost office. In later years, he came to symbolise cynicism, feebleness, and subservience to labor unions. And he lived to see his reputation sink far lower than was really deserved.

But Bill Clinton had left by then.

■ This can only be a preliminary report on the suggestions for NATIONAL REVIEW's signature tune invited two issues back. More than seventy songs have been proposed, and since some were unknown to the judges, our researches continue.

As in an earlier competition, there is a division between Porter–Kern–Rodgers "standards" ("Anything Goes," "Accent-tu-ate the Positive" and "It's a Sin to Tell a Lie") and rock songs, some of which have enticingly conservative titles like "We Don't Get Fooled Again."

So far, however, as someone who believes that *NR* should represent all factions of the conservative movement, I favor George Jochnowitz's entry: "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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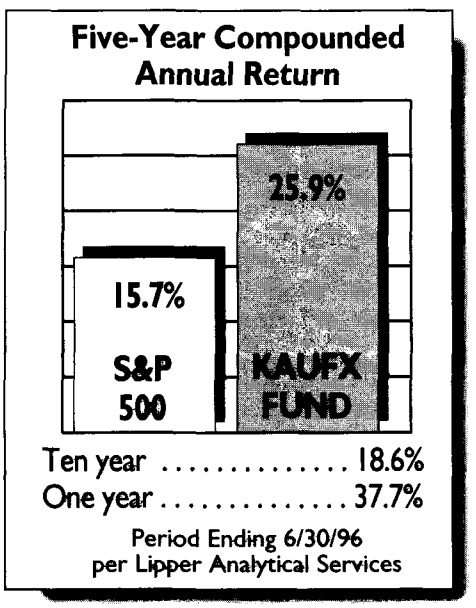

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FOR THE RECORD

■ For agreeing to sign welfare-reform bill, **Bill Clinton** gets thrashed by *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and (of course) **Mary McGrory**. Says National Urban League Pres. **Hugh Price**: "It appears that Congress has wearied of the war on poverty and decided to wage war against poor people, instead." . . . Appearing at fund-raiser celebrating Clinton's 50th birthday: **Whoopi Goldberg**, **Leslie Nielsen**, **Kenny Rogers**, **Carly Simon**, **Tony Bennett**, **Tim Conway**, **Maya Angelou**, **Aretha Franklin**, **Jon Bon Jovi**. . . . After **Dole** critics speculate on/urge his withdrawal from presidential race, respected political analyst **Stuart Rothenberg** writes that their criticism is "nothing new, and nothing that deserves much notice. Someone needs to remind [them] that Dole won the nomination." Rothenberg is particularly scornful of **Arianna Huffington**, "who for some incomprehensible reason thinks she has become a specialist in campaign organization and strategy." But Rothenberg admits, "I find it increasingly difficult to imagine that Dole can come back to overtake Clinton—particularly in a three-way race." . . . Good news for Dole: 84 per cent of an "insiders' panel of members of the political media and consultants from both parties" surveyed by HOTLINE predict a Clinton win. A plurality also named **Christine Todd Whitman** as Dole's smartest Veep pick. . . . RNC newsletter for veterans trumpets fact that **Do Muoi**, Communist Party Secretary General of Vietnam, told U.S. National Security Advisor **Anthony Lake** he hopes Bill Clinton wins re-election. . . . Coming up fast on the outside: *Talkers* magazine reports *Harry Browne*, Libertarian Party candidate for President, has become fifth-most-talked-about man in America on talk radio, after fellow candidates Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, **Ross Perot**, and **Richard Lamm**.

■ House Chief Administrative Officer **Scot Faulkner** informs congressmen of "delays in the processing of the recent postcards on the Partial Birth Ban Act. . . . Since House Postal operations has been able to track measurable amounts, [starting] on July 3, the House as a whole has received in excess of one million postcards." (Letter was quoted in *Roll Call*.) . . . At a Vermont Democratic fund-raiser, **George Stephanopoulos** said Rep. "**Bernie Sanders** has done a great job helping to battle the extreme politics of the right wing." Sanders is a self-declared Socialist. . . . At rally featuring **Louis Farrakhan**, Rep. **Barbara-Rose Collins** (D., Mich.) says, "I have come under some of the most vicious and racist and vile attacks ever seen upon an African-American woman since **Harriet Tubman**. . . . [It's] called persecution. Just like they crucified **Jesus Christ**, murdered **Malcolm X**, assassinated **Martin Luther King**. . . they come after me and anybody else who will join hands with you. But why? Why? Because you're the have-nots." . . . ACORN, left-wing group trying to increase minimum wage in cities and states around the country, files suit in California to exempt itself from state's $4.25 minimum wage, arguing that "the more ACORN must pay each individual outreach worker . . . the fewer outreach workers it will be able to hire." . . . One more hurdle for California Civil Rights Initiative: Sacramento County Superior Court Judge **James T. Ford** orders Attorney General **Dan Lungren** to rewrite ballot initiative to replace phrase "special preferences or quotas" with "affirmative action." . . . But a gain for school choice: Franklin County (Ohio) Judge **Lisa L. Sadler** rules that students may use public money to pay for private and religious schooling.

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"Well, you're healthy enough to be president of Russia."

■ **Paul Volcker**, former Fed chairman, will investigate accusations that money owned by Jewish victims of Nazis is still held in Swiss banks. Swiss Federal Council took unusual action of ordering banks to provide records for 1933 to 1945 despite traditional secrecy after Foreign Minister **Flavio Cotti** admitted "Switzerland was involved in the barbarism of those years." . . . Government of Turkey, led by Islamic fundamentalist Prime Minister **Necmetin Erbakan**, reaffirms agreement to permit Israeli planes on Turkish bases, promises new Israeli–Turkish defense-industries agreement, whips reluctant MPs into line behind extension of U.S.-led surveillance sorties over Iraq. . . . Iranian émigré spokesman **Alireza Jafarzadeh** quotes senior Teheran officials saying, "We will do to Clinton what we did to [former Israeli Prime Minister **Shimon**] **Peres**" with a widespread terrorist campaign. Jafarzadeh also implicates Iran in attack on U.S. military barracks in Saudi Arabia. . . . Foreign investors are voting with their feet for new Israeli government despite warnings by Israeli Labor and American liberals that Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s hard line on security and deregulatory plans would scare them off. Netanyahu is apparently tying Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon to any agreement for Israeli withdrawals in Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. . . . Mobster **Salvatore Cocuzza**, believed to be Don of most important "family" in Sicilian capital of Palermo, says, "I've had enough; I intend to confess all the crimes I have committed." But he will not turn state's evidence, in light of what happened to relatives of first turncoat, **Tommaso Buscetta**: 37 of them have been killed since Buscetta turned in 1984.

■ GOP consultant **Ed Rollins**'s new book includes plenty of score-settling. A sample: "I'd been working for two of the most unprincipled political creatures I've ever encountered. One was such a complete cipher he gave empty suits a bad name. But his wife was even worse—a domineering Greek **Rasputin** determined to ride her husband's wealth to political glory at any cost." To whom could he possibly be referring?

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THE WEEK

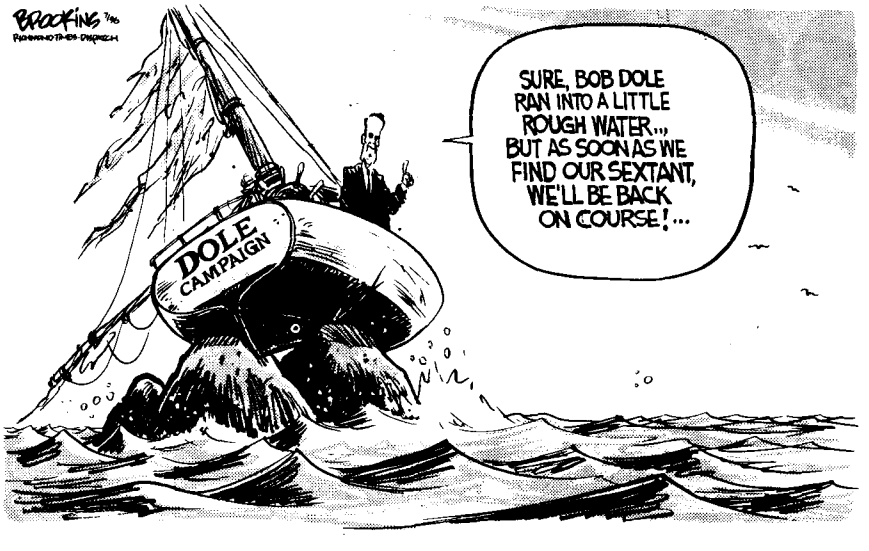
■ Charles Murray reports that illegitimacy increased at record rates in the 1990s. A third of all American births, and 70 per cent of all black American births, are out of wedlock. But hey, we're winning the debate.

■ The media all but ignored the quadrennial Polympic Games in Washington, D.C., so we'll give you results here as fast as we can make them up. The shocker, of course, was that President Clinton was disqualified in the Prevarathon for that unguarded remark about raising our taxes too much. The judges ruled that he was trying to tell a truth!—an almost unthinkable lapse. Mr. Clinton had built a seemingly insurmountable lead with "didn't inhale" before his tragic stumble.

■ Republican platform deliberations began with clear victories for pro-life delegates. The Dole campaign wanted to list abortion as an issue of "personal conscience" on which Republicans disagree. Despite heavy pressure on delegates—from convention manager Paul Manafort, among others—conservatives stood firm: intra-party disagreement would be acknowledged only generically, and vaguely pro-choice language kept out of the platform. Dole apparently thought the presidential nominee's word would be decisive. The price of his hubris was that his bold new tax-cut initiative had to compete for attention with this defeat in the same old intra-mural battle. He would have known better if he had paid attention to recent platform fights—or, for that matter, to Kate O'Beirne's recent column on "pro-Dole, out-of-control" delegates. The next day, repeated attempts by abortion-rights proponents to "yank the plank" were defeated by large margins. This was predictable: pro-choice Republicans never organize to win these votes; they take their case to the media instead. They were at pains to declare they were good Republicans who would work hard to elect Dole; California Gov. Pete Wilson even held a press conference to say he would try to force a floor vote if he had to, all in order to help Dole. Only Ann Stone, head of Republicans for Choice (a wholly owned subsidiary of CNN), was out of step rhetorically: she has taken to promising that November will be "payback time." As we went to press the Dole team was deciding whether to try to placate Wilson and avoid a floor fight by allowing a pro-choice minority report. If Wilson is sincere about having Dole's best interests at heart—which the nominee's staff doubts—he can prove it by repudiating Mrs. Stone.

■ Leading in the Polympic Sword Fall are Hillary Clinton's former law partners Webster Hubbell, Vincent Foster, and William Kennedy; the Clintons' former business partners Jim and Susan McDougal; and former Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker. However, many Clinton associates have yet to take the big plunge. Keep an eye on Susan Thomases, Maggie Williams, Patsy Thomasson, Bernie Nussbaum, and Bruce Lindsey, among a host of other top contenders, in a field so crowded that we lose count.

■ For months the media have been going on about a forthcoming revolt by the GOP moderates. Now, at the first test—the GOP platform debate in San Diego—there was a successful rebellion: but by conservatives, and on the very issue which the party establishment had sought to obscure and defuse. By a nice coincidence, in the three GOP Senate primaries held on Tuesday, in Michigan, Georgia, and Kansas, the more conservative candidate won in each case. Sam Brownback won handsomely against the moderate Sheila Frahm, who had been appointed to fill the seat Senator Dole vacated in June. (Mr. Brownback's victory was achieved, it must be said, without any help from *NR*.) Where Mr. Brownback was vulnerable, notably on immigration, Mrs. Frahm failed to raise the issue. Where he was clearly in tune with the voters, notably on spending cuts, she attacked him as going too far. In other words, Mrs. Frahm was petrified by respectability, more attuned to media liberals than to her conservative constituents, and she is accordingly now a respectable ex-senator. Two conclusions suggest themselves. The conservative wing of the GOP is where the party's energy, passion, and ideas now repose. And moderate Republicans are a *nomenklatura* without an ideology. Indeed, that is why they appeal to the media.


BROOKINS '96
SURE, BOB DOLE RAN INTO A LITTLE ROUGH WATER... BUT AS SOON AS WE FIND OUR SEXTANT, WE'LL BE BACK ON COURSE!...
DOLE CAMPAIGN

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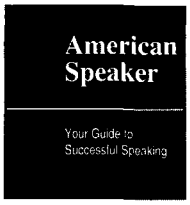
Applause, Applause

Anyone can win over a tough audience, says hailed speechwriter. Just ask Lee Iacocca.



THE AMERICAN SPEAKER
Your Guide to Successful Speaking
Aram Bakshian, Jr., Editor (600 pages; Georgetown Publishing House)

By Len Taylor

The difference between success and failure, writes Aram Bakshian, Jr., in this remarkable new resource for public speakers, is the ability to communicate clearly and effectively. Never has this been more true than in today's intensely competitive business climate.

Bakshian should know. Speechwriter to "The Great Communicator" himself, Ronald Reagan, as well as to two other former presidents and the heads of several major corporations, Bakshian has witnessed the rise and fall of international leaders based on their ease — or lack of ease — on the podium. Anyone can master the art of speaking in public, Bakshian says, "In the last analysis, the spoken word is still king."

Fear and loathing of the rubber chicken circuit have long plagued public figures. "No one knows how I hate making speeches," President Calvin Coolidge once complained to a friend.

Bakshian tackles head-on the challenges of public speaking in AMERICAN SPEAKER. "As with alcoholism," he writes, "there is no known cure for stage fright. You're either a 'chronic' sufferer or a 'recovering' sufferer." In either case, it's easy to minimize that suffering — or even turn it into an advantage. As Carroll O'Connor, the legendary "Archie Bunker," put it, "A professional actor has a kind of tension. The amateur is thrown by it, but the professional needs it."

The chairmen of Fortune 500 companies like Coca-Cola, IBM and General Motors make more speeches in a year than most politicians do. And not just on television. They speak all the time in the workplace and to colleagues, customers and the media.

Perhaps the best contemporary example is Lee Iacocca, who saved the Chrysler Corporation by using his enormous talent as a speaker to win the support of the Congress, the White House and the American people for the biggest corporate bailout in history. Iacocca himself attributes his business success to speaking. In his autobiography, he writes: "I've seen a lot of guys who are smarter than I am and a lot who know more about cars. And yet I've lost them in the smoke. Why? Because I'm tough? No ... You've got to know how to talk to them, plain and simple."

Business is the single biggest rhetorical arena. From simple retail sales spiels to sensitive boardroom presentations, speech keeps the wheels of commerce turning. In making a first impression, Bakshian writes, "Your appearance can raise expectations, but what you say and how you say it will determine how people evaluate you." A good speaker is always in demand. At events from business conventions to weddings, "a good speaker not only adds to the occasion, he also benefits from 'free advertising' that adds to his stature in the community and attracts future business."

Unusual for a book or periodical of any kind, AMERICAN SPEAKER is more of a personal mentor — a do-it-yourself guide designed to save hours or days of preparation time, or, conversely, an enormous bill from a professional speechwriter or "coach."

It's a clever, accessible concept: a three-ring binder crammed with hundreds of pages of material on every imaginable aspect of public address: body language, delivering an inspiring eulogy, antidotes to nervousness, using humor, developing a powerful speaking voice, or engaging the audience in a positive question-and-answer session. Bakshian offers sensible, uplifting advice for every occasion, from the Thanksgiving toast to a defense of your industry before a hostile audience.

Arranged alphabetically, AMERICAN SPEAKER is easy to navigate, highly entertaining and loaded with good ideas. In the calendars section, for instance, Bakshian compiles thousands of speech pegs for every day of the year in three calendars: celebrity birthdays, today in history and the months at a glance. "Every audience gathered to share a common interest or celebrate a specific occasion has a built-in common bond," Bakshian writes. "A good speaker doesn't just know this; a good speaker takes advantage of it." He demonstrates how a shared reference can warm up the audience, draw a favorable analogy or build a bridge from past to present.

What about actual speeches? They're all over AMERICAN SPEAKER. A section on acceptance speeches includes as an example Winston Churchill's masterful appearance before Parliament in 1954, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. To illustrate the business address, Bakshian quotes nine speeches that used humor and anecdotes to deliver serious messages to several very different audiences. In the education section, Bakshian shows how cartoonist Garry Trudeau hilariously defused the "political correctness" time bomb in speaking to a graduating class at Yale University. And so on.

But here's what really makes AMERICAN SPEAKER stand out from the crowd of business publications. In addition to the basic 600-page volume, readers also receive timely updates, transcripts of recent, powerful speeches and a free consulting service with Bakshian, to resolve those last-minute speaking challenges. Best of all, the entire package is guaranteed. Review AMERICAN SPEAKER for 30 days. If it doesn't meet your expectations, return it to Georgetown Publishing House for a complete refund.

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To order, write to: Georgetown Publishing House, 1101 30th St., NW, Dept. 4BI6, Washington, DC 20007. Or call them at 800-915-0022 — or, fax 202-337-1512. ■

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■ The Federal Election Commission's complaint against the Christian Coalition—that its voter guides constitute partisan activity co-ordinated with candidates—is spurious and likely to fail in court. The operative legal standard here requires literature to include "express advocacy" (i.e., words like "oppose," "vote for," or "defeat") for it to count as partisan. The Coalition's guides simply inform voters how officials voted on issues of concern to Christian conservatives. If Democrats fare worse than Republicans, it is because of their votes. All the FEC has revealed is its penchant, typical of regulatory bodies, to expand its powers.

■ In the Heavyweight Lifting event, Maggie Williams, the First Lady's chief of staff, managed to hoist 422 Vincefosterfiles, a world record and solid gold. Patsy Thomasson took the silver by lifting 419 Vincefosterfiles. Keep an eye on Craig Livingstone, whose practice lift of 1,000 RepublicanFBIfiles marks him as a rising star.

■ Rep. Sue Kelly (R., N.Y.) is part of the Republican fringe that voted against the ban on partial-birth abortions. She is being vigorously challenged by Joe DioGuardi, a right-to-life conservative who used to hold the seat. So it's not surprising that Reps. Bob Dornan (R., Calif.) and Chris Smith (R., N.J.), two of the most committed pro-lifers in Congress, would back DioGuardi. For this crime, the House leadership has come down on them like a ton of bricks. They are being denied legislative-conference seats which their subcommittee chairmanships would normally guarantee them. They were warned that their amendments would not reach the floor (the leadership has backed off on this point). And Smith's travel budget—he chairs the International Operations and Human Rights subcommittee—has been cut off. This follows a pattern in the 104th Congress of conservative dissenters being disciplined more harshly than liberal ones. Perhaps Bob Dole could suggest a tolerance plank to the House GOP leadership.

■ Susan Thomases, Maggie Williams, and Hillary Rodham Clinton took the Amnesia Relay Team gold, although none of them has any specific recollection of being in the event.

■ The Dole campaign has found an issue—marijuana. Pot use among kids is up since Bill Clinton was inaugurated, so vote for Dole. But cocaine use is down; should we therefore vote for Clinton? It is too much to expect the GOP to rethink drug policy in the midst of an election campaign, but certain points—the medical uses of marijuana; the draconian sentences still being served by casual possessors—should induce it to show reason on the topic. Sending out Jointman to joust with Buttman keeps the debate on the puerile level favored by the Democrats. If Dole wants to make headway, he will have to focus on policies (e.g., affirmative action) which the Clintonites support when they are stone cold sober.

■ Whitewater Kaiaiaiaia!aking: Gold, Mike McCurry. Silver, Eleanor Clift. Bronze, also Eleanor Clift.

■ Much uneasiness among gun-control supporters. Prof. John Lott of the University of Chicago has released a terribly inconvenient study which finds that when law-abiding people are allowed to carry guns, crime drops. His nationwide, 15-year study records an 8.5 per cent drop in homicide, a 5 per cent drop in rape, and a 7 per cent drop in aggravated assault in jurisdictions which permit concealed weapons. Lott observed a slight rise in non-violent crimes, presumably as criminals plied their craft less riskily. Today 36 states now permit concealed weapons, up from 9 states ten years ago, which suggests the common sense underlying Prof. Lott's research has made a bigger impression on state legislators than on gun-control advocates.

■ Hillary Clinton won the Heavyweight Lift-and-Shred, disposing of everything but her Rose Law Firm billing records.

■ Reviewing in the *New York Times Book Review*, Michael Lind's latest philippic against conservatism, Brent Staples whoops with delight over the author's discovery of the "hoax" of mass illegitimacy which, "along with the idea that welfare causes out-of-wedlock births, is driving virtually all welfare policy." If Mr. Lind is right, Mr. Staples's review should have been on the newspaper's front page: MILLIONS OF FATHERS FOUND AT HOME. / WOMEN HONEST AFTER ALL. / WELFARE REFORM A MISTAKE. Not even the *New York Times,* however, will run that story because Mr. Lind's conclusion was a . . . fallacy. He pointed out that the rate of black teenagers' having out-of-wedlock babies has remained stable at 80 per 1,000 from 1920 through 1990. On this argument, illegitimate births have risen as a percentage of all births because married couples have fewer children, not because single women have more. Even if that were so, it would still be cause for concern because, unlike the period 1920–60, most young

Dole's Last Roll

As I understand it, spit
On the dice placed in one's mitt,
Followed by a stylish shake,
Sanctifies the shaker's stake.
Snake eyes seem to be the goal,
So I say to Mr. Dole:
Shake 'em with a genteel shout
And, for God's sake, don't crap out.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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blacks today grow up in communities in which illegitimate births (and their attendant ills) are the norm. But it is not so. As Richard Brookhiser points out in *NR*'s review (page 89), Mr. Lind's own book shows that from 1960 to 1989 expected *lifetime* births almost doubled for the average unmarried black woman (and almost tripled for the average unmarried white woman). The culprit? Welfare. Until the Sixties, single women might have children outside marriage, but they would then find a father for them and establish a two-parent family. Welfare enables single-parent families to subsist indefinitely while excusing fathers from their duties. The resulting family crisis is, alas, no hoax. And Mr. Staples's ready acceptance of it as one merely shows that fallacies which comfort are harder to detect than those which jar.

■ The Trough Bucketball gold went to Rep. Dick Gephardt with a near-perfect score of 9.91 slops. Mr. Gephardt also won a bronze in logrolling.

■ In this issue (Letters, page 4), Linda Chavez and John J. Miller seek to drive a wedge between *NR* and our economics analyst, Ed Rubenstein, by suggesting that he shares their view that immigration reduces inflation. Alas, they commit an elementary confusion between inflation and inflationary pressures of which Mr. Rubenstein, a staunch monetarist, was not guilty. When wages outstrip productivity (an inflationary pressure), the Fed has a choice: it can either do nothing and watch unemployment rise, or reduce the value of the wage hike by increasing the money supply (inflation). Immigration certainly works to remove this painful dilemma from the Fed—but at the cost of producing the secondary effects directly. By increasing the supply of labor, immigration either reduces wages, or displaces existing workers, or a little of both. Naturally, anything that cuts wages and hikes unemployment will also tend to reduce inflationary pressures. Perhaps Miss Chavez and Mr. Miller favor other policies that will produce these desirable results. As for their general complaint about *NR* on immigration, we will happily say something good about them when they produce a good argument.

On to Chicago

Dick Gephardt's apoplectic.
In Big Town, goo-goos grieve.
Pat Moynihan complains like Job.
Tom Daschle's stunned, like Eve.
Charles Rangel's ululating.
Ted Kennedy's been sloshed
Since Wednesday when the President
Dumped on the great unwashed.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ Inhaling: Gold, Mike McCurry. Silver, George Stephanopoulos. Bronze, Bill Clinton.

■ *NR* apologizes for its mistaken assertion two issues ago that General Sherman destroyed the Virginia Military Institute, when, in fact, he was preparing for urban renewal in Atlanta. We were misled by a professor of history teaching at VMI, who must have been confused by the spirit of General Sherman now at work in Lexington, Virginia. We also regret that our contents page incorrectly advertises Karina Rollins's interview with Libertarian presidential candidate Harry Browne, which will appear in our next issue. Instead, we run Andrew Stuttaford's article on candidates for cryonics on that page.

■ Bimbothalon finals: Gold, Gennifer Flowers. Silver, that mummy. Bronze, the Marriott Hotel. Disqualified, Paula Jones.

■ Word 7.0, the fancy Windows '95 version of Microsoft's popular word processor, has a partisan spellchecker. It recognizes the names Kennedy, Johnson, Carter, and Clinton, but not Nixon (for which it offers to substitute "Nikon") or Reagan ("regain," "reign"). Either Bill Gates favors Democrats, or he appreciates that conservatives don't need spellcheckers.

■ As the Hague Tribunal tries to hale Serbian war criminals before the bar of justice, the world should remember 1) that there are also Muslim and Croat thugs who are being (or should be) pursued; and 2) that most Serbs in the former Yugoslavia have been bystanders of its chaos. The Bosnian agony is the work of former Communist politicians and ideologues, willing to use communal hatreds in order to gain or hold power. And lest we feel too complacent, this is a feature of multi-ethnic regimes with no commonly acknowledged source of authority.

■ Dr. Jack K. Death presented some of his weird philosophy to the National Press Club, discoursing on Christ "dying for three or four days" with all those nails through Him, ugly, *ugly*. How much more "dignified" it would have been, he ventured, "had Christ died in my van." He does, Jack, every time.

And Nowhere to Go

FOR the first time this year congressional Republicans feel as if they have their political footing. They have passed a major welfare-reform bill, "common-sense" health-care legislation, and a widely popular minimum-wage measure. President Clinton's charge of GOP "extremism" has been implicitly revoked by all his signatures, while the appellation "do-nothing Congress" plainly no longer applies. Republican members left Washington, D.C., for the recess light of heart, con-

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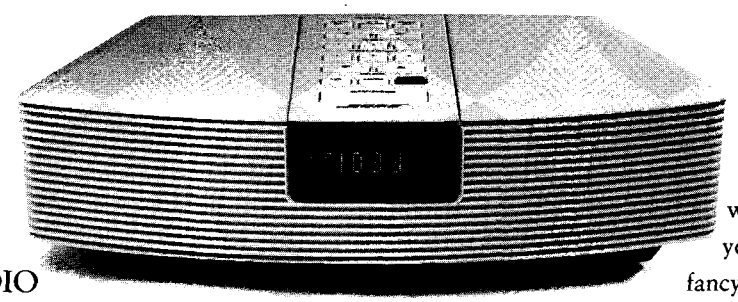

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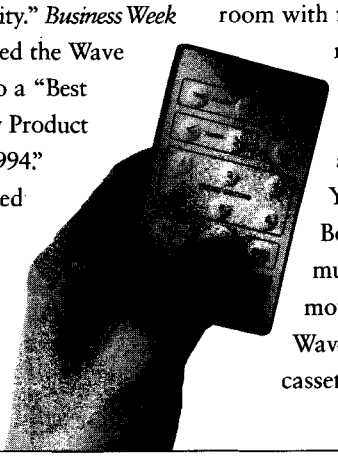

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vinced they had finally hit upon the formula that will see them through November. But if the last two weeks re-elect them, they will have learned the wrong lessons from their two years in power.

The welfare-reform bill—despite conservative cheers and liberal wails—hardly represents the death of liberalism. Ending the AFDC entitlement is indeed an enormous symbolic victory, but when it comes to actual policy the bill has five, more modest advantages: 1) It slows the rate of growth of welfare spending to about 4 per cent a year. 2) Scrapping the entitlement ends the perverse incentive for states to get more people onto the rolls in order to get more federal dollars. 3) The bill's work requirements are structurally sound, designed to reduce the caseload rather than create huge jobs programs. 4) It takes tiny steps against illegitimacy (states are rewarded for reducing illegitimate births). 5) It cuts into the benefits of non-citizens, diminishing the United States' allure as the world's welfare magnet. All of this is marked progress in the welfare debate, especially given the fact that three years ago Republicans couldn't even convince Democrats to kick alcoholics and drug addicts off Supplemental Security Income. (Congress did so in separate legislation earlier this year.)

But the bill's shortcomings are obvious. The work requirements really apply to only 18 per cent of the caseload by the end of the century (the bill says 35 per cent, but that number is the product of fast statistical footwork—and anyway, about 8 per cent of the welfare population is already working). The GOP governors, led by Michigan's John Engler, lobbied to have the requirements as flimsy as possible so that they could easily meet them. The ballyhooed five-year cut-off of benefits, meanwhile, is easily evaded. States can allocate their own dollars to recipients on the rolls for more than five years, while shifting more federal dollars to newer recipients. And the bill provides plenty of opportunities for Donna Shalala's Health and Human Services to misinterpret its provisions, and for the Legal Services Corporation to work its magic.

On all other fronts, moreover, the GOP has been in open retreat. Republicans not only capitulated on the minimum wage, they did so without even protecting small business—a keystone of the economy, not to mention the GOP coalition—from its effects. The bill passed 281 to 44 (93 Republicans voting aye) in the House and 74 to 24 (27 Republicans voting aye) in the Senate. Can liberalism really be in the grave when so many Republicans are buffaloed into supporting a minimum-wage hike? The GOP also reversed itself on an issue central to its victory in 1994: now, apparently, the party believes government *can* intervene in the health-care market to guarantee people's coverage. The central provision of the Kassebaum–Kennedy bill (adopted in the House 421 to 2, in the Senate 98 to 0) mandates that an individual leaving his job cannot be turned down for coverage in the individual insurance market, even if he is sick. The effect will be to force the market to cover people who tend to have higher health-care costs, raising premiums for everyone else and pushing younger, healthier people out of the market. This—together with provisions requiring insurers to renew most policies and prohibiting insurers from turning away individuals with pre-existing conditions—will create pressure for more regulation later. (Market-oriented Medical Savings Accounts were limited to a small demonstration project in the bill.) Sen. Kennedy has promised to be back for another bite of the apple.

Will Republicans be ready for him? They still suffer from their balanced-budget debacle this year. They concluded then that they couldn't win any argument with President Clinton. In fact, they just couldn't win a fight over Medicare. But they avoided passing popular bills on issues like affirmative action and taxes for fear of provoking attacks on them as extremists, friends of the rich, etc. They floundered for months, before settling on their latest strategy, which is to seek the President's seal of approval. Instead of confronting him on wedge issues, they have accommodated him on consensus ones. Instead of defining him as a liberal, they join him in the center. It may work in November, but only at the risk of sabotaging presidential candidate Bob Dole.

Which presents two larger, strategic problems. The first is that if Dole loses big, he may take down enough bi-partisan, consensus-building Republican congressmen to scuttle the Republican majority anyway. The other is that Dole is now the symbolic repository of tax cuts, the foremost GOP issue. If Dole loses, tax cuts go down with him, while President Clinton will no doubt claim a mandate for his one-step-back, two-steps-forward liberalism. And what is to keep a rudderless, barely re-elected GOP Congress from cooperating with him on that too?

Seeing the Right Light

THE DEMOCRATS and the media are already writing off Bob Dole's tax plan—*too expensive . . . irresponsible . . . a return to the failed policies of the 1980s.* In fact, the public debate has shifted to ground worth fighting over and possible for Republicans to win. Bob Dole's tax plan is bold, both as policy and as politics. Its centerpiece, a 15 per cent across-the-board cut in tax rates, is a clear symbolic statement of the direction in which the GOP wants to take the country: toward a reduced government role in people's lives, discernible immediately in people's pocketbooks. The mix of a substantial capital-gains cut—from 28 to 14 per cent—and a child tax credit serves to satisfy all the factions in the GOP, and unite them around a common rallying point. The Dole plan, in short, is a victory for Reaganism, all the sweeter since Bob Dole has long been a skeptic.

Dole's critics will argue his plan will increase the deficit and, hence, is at odds with his record and that of the GOP Congress. Not necessarily. Significantly, federal taxes take a higher share of GDP today than in 1969, the last year

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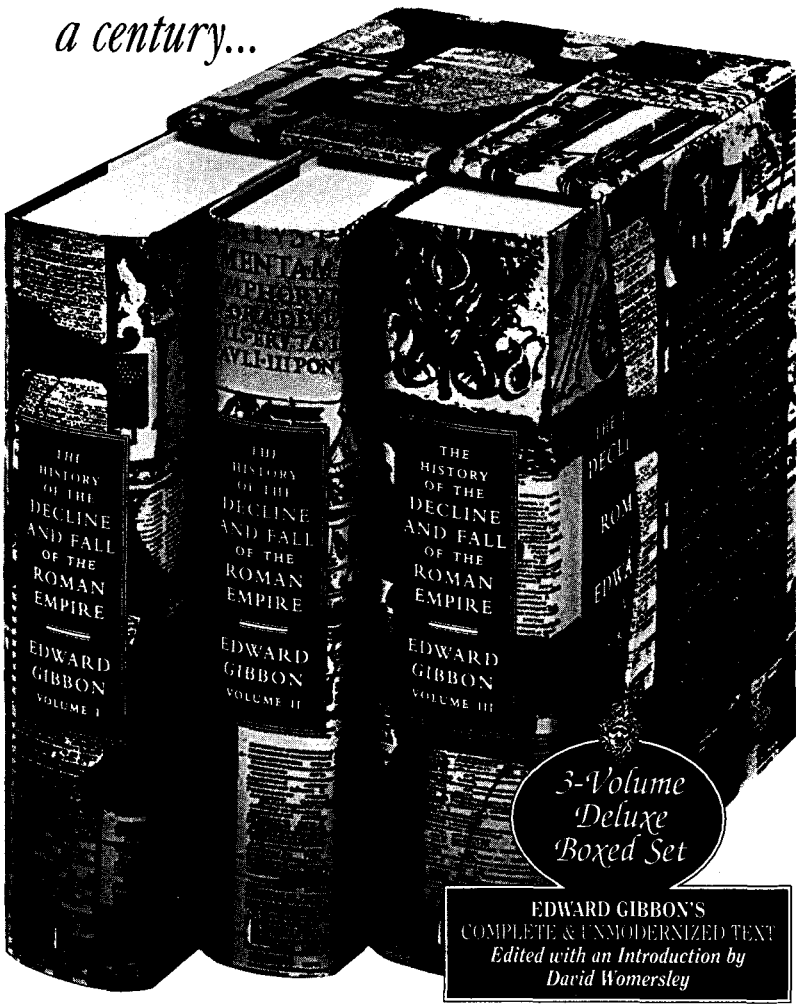

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in which the government had a budget surplus. Revenues rose rapidly in the 1980s when taxes were cut. Spending, not taxes, drives the deficit. If middle-class entitlements are not eventually tackled (this congressional session obviously wasn't the time to do it, nor is this campaign) the deficit will hit 19 per cent of GDP by 2030, no matter what happens with taxes. What the Right has tended to forget over the last two years is that the problem is not the deficit per se, but the total weight of government, however financed. Tax cuts starve the beast, denying government revenue; deficits force it to cut spending—reducing the burden of government all around. At the same time, Republicans can make the case that they have proved over the last two years their resolve to reduce spending.

Dole will take a hammering for representing Reagan redux. It is a criticism he should welcome. The economy grew by one-third during the seven years 1982 to 1989. Twenty million jobs were created during that period. (As the debate over the 1980s re-ignites, readers might want to refresh their memories by consulting "The Real Reagan Record," available from NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 E. 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016 at $2.95 per copy.) Supply-siders can quibble over the growth effects of the Dole plan. An across-the-board cut tends to help lower-income taxpayers, who may not change their behavior much, and a child tax credit has no growth effects at all. But the plan is political as well as economic: an across-the-board cut, as Reagan realized, is always politically powerful, and the child tax credit protects Dole from the

Right Data

SO why is the deficit down? And what does it mean for the economy? Pundits are scrambling for answers. *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jackie Calmes notes that "tax receipts this year are expected to be a whopping 33 per cent higher than those in fiscal 1992." Her conclusion: "The revenue increase accounts for the largest share of the deficit surprise." Not quite.

This year's deficit will be $117 billion, or 1.6 per cent of GDP, according to OMB's July forecast. That's a drop of 3.3 points from 1992. Spending cuts accounted for more than half (1.9 points) of the improvement. Defense spending, after falling sharply during the Bush years, has borne the brunt of this decline also. In 1992, for instance, national defense accounted for nearly 22 per cent of all outlays and 5 per cent of GDP. For this fiscal year, defense gets $266 billion, or 17 per cent of federal outlays, and is 3.6 per cent of the economy.

This is not what Bill Clinton wanted. A year ago he submitted a budget that called for a $211-billion deficit in fiscal 1996, $94 billion higher than currently expected. Defense cuts were to help pay for higher discretionary spending, that hodge-podge ranging from air-traffic control to the congressional barber shop. Fortunately, gridlock and two government shutdowns intervened. Congress capped most low-priority domestic programs at 75 per cent of last year's amount, and actually terminated over 200 of the more blatant pork programs. As a result, discretionary spending is on course for its first year-to-year decline since 1969.

Belatedly, the President has signed welfare reform into law. But AFDC is tiny compared to Medicare and Medicaid. Those two health programs account for 17 per cent of all federal outlays, and are expected to grow at a combined 10 per cent rate this year, versus 2 per cent growth in the rest of the budget. The President repeatedly vetoed MSAs and congressional efforts to devolve Medicaid to the states. Had he signed the Balanced Budget Act of 1995, health-care entitlements would have been $6.5 billion lower this year.

But what about those taxes? In just four months the government's FY1996 revenue forecast leapt $26 billion, or by 0.4 per cent of GDP. Supply-siders can rest easy, however, because high tax rates apparently had nothing to do with it. According to OMB, most of this spring's revenue spike "comes from collections of non-withheld individual income taxes." Translation: investors, who had been sitting on stock-market gains in hopes that the Republican Congress would cut the capital-gains tax, gave up late last year. They went ahead and took their gains, producing a tax liability that had to be paid in April.

Federal income-tax rates paid by affluent taxpayers were raised twice in the 1990s, supposedly to help shrink the deficit. Yet personal-income-tax revenues will take a lower share of GDP in 1996 than they did in 1987, when the top rate was still 28 per cent. How is this possible? Because "taxable" income fell to only 43 per cent of gross income in the 1990s, down from 51 per cent in the late Eighties.

As their tax rates went up, wealthy people searched aggressively for deductions and exclusions, or simply earned less. As evidence, just look at the aftermath of the 1993 tax bill. Taxpayers with income above $250,000, facing a 39.6 per cent marginal tax rate, reported far less income growth than people in the next income level, $50,000 to $200,000, whose tax rates were unchanged. Harvard economist Martin Feldstein, in a 1995 analysis of the Clinton Administration's tax bill, calculates that "repealing the increase in tax rates for high-income taxpayers would raise more than $2 billion." At least for the upper brackets, tax cuts pay for themselves.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

DECONSTRUCTING A DECLINING DEFICIT

Fiscal Year	Total Revenues	Total Outlays	Deficit	Memo: Deficit
	(% of GDP)			($Bils.)
1992	18.4%	23.3%	4.9%	$290.4
1993	18.4	22.5	4.1	255.1
1995	19.3	21.7	2.3	163.9
1996E (Mar.)	19.4	21.4	2.0	145.6
1996E (July)	19.8	21.4	1.6	116.8
Chg., '92-'96	+1.4pts.	-1.9 pts	-3.3 pts.	

Source: OMB. E = Estimates

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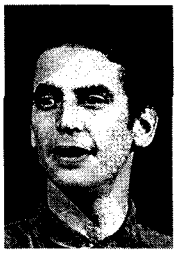

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tax-cut-for-the-rich charge. Thanks to the credit, a family with two children with an income of $35,000 a year will see its tax burden slashed by more than half.

So, the Dole plan could have been bolder. Why stop at 15 per cent? It nonetheless is the first real inspiration Republicans have had on the tax issue since they won Congress in 1994. Selling it will not be easy, given some of Dole's past statements (jokes about supply-siders driving off a cliff) and votes (pushing various tax increases throughout the 1980s). Democrats will make the tax cut a character issue, arguing that Dole will abandon his principles to win an election. But the charge need not stick if Bob Dole advances his plan and the rationale behind it with conviction and passion. And if Bob Dole is indeed a genuine convert to tax cuts himself, he may even pick up another habit of Ronald Reagan's: winning votes.

Yuppie Lawyers from Hell

ON ONE issue dear to *NR*'s heart the congressional GOP's retreat has become a rout. Fifty-six House Republicans joined Democrats to *increase* funding for the Legal Services Corporation from $141 million to $250 million. Many of these were daily apostates of whom little can be expected: Sherwood Boehlert (N.Y.), Steve Gunderson (Wisc.)—and Sue Kelly (N.Y.), whose vote is yet another reason for constituents to defy the GOP Politburo and vote for Joe DioGuardi in the primary. But they also included reasonable conservatives like Bob Goodlatte (Va.), Martin Hoke (Ohio)—and the courageous Charles Canady (Fla.), whose sponsorship of a bill to limit race and gender quotas is a bright light in a dim agenda (or would be if GOP leaders had not consigned it to limbo).

Rael Jean Isaac laid out the abuses of the LSC in horrific detail in *NR* last year. But when even good conservatives continue to stumble, there is some point in reiterating the objections to it. With almost half of America's lawyers offering *pro bono* legal services, it is doubtful if we need a taxpayer-funded law service for the poor. Granting we do, the LSC isn't one. With a million LSC cases a year, you will search in vain for those in which LSC affiliates took up the cases of home-schoolers, loggers whose jobs were threatened by environmentalists, or union members seeking to prevent their dues from being diverted to political campaigns. The LSC helps not the poor as such, but poor people who pass a liberal political test.

Worse still, it uses such people as pawns, not to win their cases, but to overturn the laws. In recent years, LSC affiliates have sued to block the implementation of Proposition 187 in California, to keep tax referenda off the ballot in several states, and to prevent states from implementing welfare reform. Again, where has the LSC tried to overturn racial or ethnic quotas, extreme environmentalist regulations, or higher tax rates?

In short, the LSC is an engine of liberal legal activism which uses public money to nullify laws and voter initiatives which legislatures and electorates have passed after democratic debate. And a very well-funded one at that. In any given year, the federal expenditure on legal services easily dwarfs the total amount spent by all conservative, libertarian, and pro-family legal groups. And during the last election cycle, 1993–94, legal-services programs spent more money than the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and all political-action committees combined. Yet, compared to the loud bi-partisan indignation about the influence of private money in politics, there is a deafening bi-partisan silence about the much more pernicious influence of this public money.

Its congressional defenders reply that the LSC is different now, transformed by new rules that forbid class-action suits, lobbying, representation of drug dealers, and

The Week in Verse

For waff'ling on abortion and the role
At *San Diego* giv'n to *Powell* by *Dole*
The Christian Right may hold him in disdain,
But as a tax-cutter he's Born Again!
The faithful for this windfall offer thanks
But can the voters put it in their banks?
They've heard before, and heeded too *en masse*,
These *Sirens* singing to the *Middle Class*.
Their promises are now not unexpected—
Nor what becomes of them once they're elected.

From psephologic nightmare Dole can't wake
Nor from the business cycle catch a break,
Since his appeal to public discontent
Comes just as growth is topping 4 per cent.
Ev'n *Hollywood* is slith'ring from his sights
As films (a few) suit his taste—or the Right's.
Meanwhile more hopes grew dim in *Arkansas*,
Where good ole boys sometimes elude the law:
No sleaze of theirs nor yet of *Starr* the skill
Could pin the rap on *Branscum* or on *Hill*.
In *Washington* the *Clintons* looked less pale
And swore that not a penny'd go to *Dale*—
Unless, that is, their people got some too
For legal fees (there'll be more than a few).

Still *Bill*'s campaign the media overawes
Who don't care that he runs for *Santa Claus*.
So pleas'd with all the goodies in his pack,
Themselves as gen'rous serve him as his flack:
Of terror and of sweatshops we're set free!
And now (for kids) there's something on TV!
The *Welfare Bill* itself's his merchandise
(Though hardly changed from that he veto'd twice).
Small wonder if the *GOP* competes
To give enough to hang on to their seats:
Clean food, clean water now we see them tout,
And cross their fingers that they're not clean'd out!

—JUVENAL

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other abuses. But there is less in this than meets the eye. As Ken Boehm, chairman of the National Legal and Policy Center, has pointed out, such abuses will in future be performed by bodies independent of the LSC, which turn out to be previous grantees, very often working in the same offices, cooperating with their old colleagues, but allegedly drawing on private or state funding. This is an almost insultingly flimsy disguise, but why not? In the words of Elizabeth Shivell, a leading California legal-aid advocate: "If [Congress] can screw people with technicalities, we can unscrew them with technicalities. That's why we are lawyers and not social workers." In response to such open defiance of congressional intent the House has increased funding by 80 per cent.

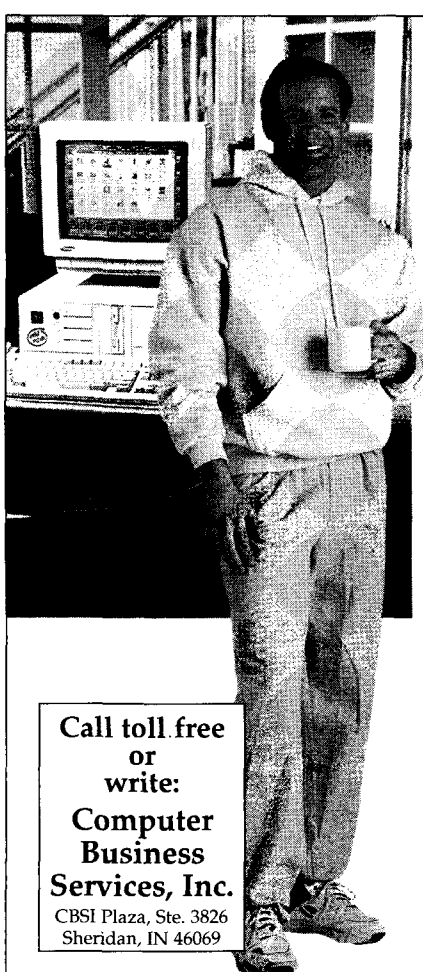
The fate of the LSC is now before the Senate. If a Republican Congress continues to allow the LSC to be financed by the taxpayer, conservatives might deduct a comparable amount from their checks to the GOP.

Unholy Terror

PAN Am 103, the World Trade Center, Oklahoma City; bombings of American forces in Riyadh and Dhahran, Saudi Arabia; and now TWA 800 and Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park—all crowd in on the American consciousness. Some of these events (Oklahoma City, Atlanta) are domestic law-enforcement problems. But others have an international dimension, raising new problems for which we may need new tools.

Iran and Iraq are both prime suspects. Islamic extremists seek to expel the U.S. and its influence from the Middle East, control the oil weapon, and take revenge against the West for centuries of domination. To those ends, they seek not only to kill Americans and Israelis but to undermine all moderate Arab governments friendly to us (such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia). Iran is the fountainhead of terror, lending spiritual as well as material support. "We hope there are more [such attacks]," crowed one of Ayatollah Kahmenei's representatives in the holy city of Qom in his sermon after the Dhahran bombing. "God willing, there won't be any safe place for them" (i.e., us). It was inevitable that these religious warriors would eventually capitalize on America's openness to bring the war home.

How to respond? Improved airport security and international intelligence cooperation only scratch the surface. The anti-terrorism bill gives the FBI new wiretap powers and requires "taggants" to help track explosives. Unfortunately, the taggants would be of only marginal value, and the expanded wiretap authority raises constitutional problems. Even more unfortunately, the Clintonistas have so politicized the FBI—which loyally



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turns over security files to the White House by the boxful, and gives a heads-up whenever White House political interests are affected—that the Bureau has forfeited confidence on Capitol Hill.

Another bill, already passed by Congress, imposes economic sanctions on foreign companies that invest in the oil and gas sectors in Iran or Libya. This gives the U.S. a useful new tool against these terror-states. The squeals from their European trading partners testify to the law's likely effectiveness. These measures have bi-partisan support—Sen. Al D'Amato deserves the credit—and one may hope our allies will realize the suicidal absurdity of appeasing these regimes.

Our intelligence and military options also need to be improved. The Administration's liberal guilt feelings have led it to constrain the CIA's HUMINT ("human intelligence") because it may lead us to associate with unsavory characters. But what other kind of characters can we expect in this business?

Military retaliation will certainly be in order if a state sponsor of recent terrorism against Americans is identified. It ought to be decisive, making further terrorism prohibitive (not the token gesture of Clinton's June 1993 strike at Iraqi intelligence headquarters after Saddam's assassination plot against George Bush in Kuwait).

As these examples illustrate, the Administration is its own worst enemy on the terrorism front. It attaches too much importance to grand symbolic gestures like the Sharm el-Sheikh summit of world leaders, and too little to the counterproductive symbolism of its other actions—wooing of Syria in Arab-Israeli diplomacy, or inviting Gerry Adams to the White House. And it gets worse: Steven Emerson has revealed in the August 5 *Wall Street Journal* that Mrs. Clinton and national security advisor Anthony Lake have had a continuing, extensive—and inexplicable—relationship with American Islamic groups with suspicious connections to Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Good anti-terrorism policy may end abroad, even in air-raids, but it begins at home.

Gold for Hype

AFTER the demise of Communism it might have been possible to return to the Olympic ideal of the greatest athletes in the world competing with one another without politics intruding. No such luck. Months ago, the drumbeat began that these Olympics would be about women. For the first time in history, we were informed, American women would bring home more medals than the men. Hardly startling news. Now that synchronized swimming, softball, rhythmic gymnastics, and the like have become Olympic sports, women's events outnumber men's. But the claims became wilder. Women were making such dramatic progress that they might even surpass men in the not-so-distant future.

Needless to say, men continued to be much stronger and faster than women in Atlanta, with no convergence in sight. For example, Donovan Bailey won the 100-meter dash in 9.84 seconds. Gail Devers won her race in 10.94 seconds—a commendable performance, but barely competitive with any male athlete at the college, let alone national, level. In the marathon, South Africa's Josia Thugwane won in 2 hours, 12 minutes, and 36 seconds as against the 2 hours, 26 minutes, and 5 seconds of Ethiopia's Fatuma Roba. Had she run in the men's race with that time she would have come in 73rd. In the high jump Charles Austin jumped more than a foot higher than Bulgaria's Stefka Kostadinova; in the long jump Carl Lewis leapt 5 feet further than Nigeria's Chioma Ajunwa. Interestingly enough, the women's sports that caught everyone's attention were precisely those that highlight traditional feminine attributes. Gymnastics and diving are glorious demonstrations of beauty, poise, and grace. The performance of the men seemed weak, or perhaps not quite right, in comparison.

Horace said it, when the original Olympics were still being held: You can throw Nature out with a pitchfork, it will still come back at you.

That 'So What?' Routine

What if the Mrs. robbed a bank
And hubby drove the car?
What if Vince Foster's poltergeist
Blabbed gobs to Kenneth Starr?
What if Bill's bimbos bore rude signs
Out in the parking lot?
Panetta or McCurry or
Chris Dodd would say, "So what?"

—W. H. von Dreele

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: Ed, Dusty, JOS
From: WFB

I have to believe that no one of you saw the ad (July 29) in which I am treated like a scheduled apparition at Lourdes ("A Special Invitation to See William F. Buckley Jr. Live!"). I assume the wording was supplied by the Cooper Union Public Relations Department. But it is near-terminally embarrassing, and one more like it will foreclose anybody's future of seeing WFB live. . . . Please guard against the repetition of such a thing if ever again it passes under your eyes.

■ Dear Bill:
NR readers might want to know about Charlton

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Heston's Arena-PAC, which kicks off at the GOP Convention on August 13, featuring Arnold Schwarzenegger, Tom Selleck, Bruce Willis, Sylvester Stallone. For information, write 101 North Union Street, Suite 210, Alexandria, Virginia 23314. That may be 100 per cent of the conservative Hollywood contingent, but we have a chance to prove that they represent at least 51 per cent of the voting public.

Van [Galbraith]
New York, N.Y.

■ Memo to: WFB
From: John Virtes [*NR* Librarian]

Have you noticed the craven lengths the PC people are going to on the he/she business? The following are sentences from Prof. Dan Kahan, UChicago Law School, in his terrific essay on "What Do Alternative Sanctions Mean?", *U. Chi Law Review*, Spring 1996. They're now using the feminine as the gender-comprehensive.

1. "Just as the speaker of a real language can't hope to be understood if she uses it in an idiosyncratic way, so those who wish to reform a punishment regime can't hope to make their proposals acceptable if they advocate forms of affliction that don't express condemnation."—p. 4.

2. "Shame is the emotion a person experiences when she believes that she has been disgraced in the eyes of persons whom she respects."—p. 47.

3. "Along some dimensions, for example, $5,000 might be equivalent in value to everything I would do with and for a friend during a certain period of time. But if my goal is to be her 'friend,' then giving her the money and sharing my life with her are not interchangeable; giving money in lieu of time fails to convey the respect and affection that being a good friend requires."—p. 7.

■ May 23
Bill Buckley: I have wanted to tell you this for years—You are the second worst-dressed s.o.b. on television. Cordially, Harold Fliner, 405 Freda Villa, Madison, Tennessee 37115

June 20
Dear Mr. Fliner: Who's ahead of me? Cordially, WFB

July 11
WFB: Actually, no one. You are tops. I classified you as No. 2 only because I felt I'd improved the odds of eliciting a reaction from you—and it worked. Cordially, Harold Fliner.

Dear Mr. Finer: Who's the worst dressed *non*-s.o.b.? Cordially,
—WFB

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ON THE SCENE

Rolling Back Quotas

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN the summer of 1994 Ward Connerly, a new regent of the University of California, was visited by Jerry and Ellen Cook. The Cooks' son, a Phi Beta Kappa undergrad, had been accepted to the combined Harvard/MIT health sciences program, and was one of two California students admitted to Johns Hopkins Medical School. But he was turned away from the medical school at UC San Diego, just around the block from his home, which he hoped to attend to be near his ailing grandparents. The Cooks couldn't believe it. They gathered data from UC medical schools—Mr. Cook is a statistician—showing that at the lower grade-point averages and test scores, only preferred minorities were admitted, and that preferred minorities were in the lowest 1 per cent (in terms of GPA and test scores) of accepted students. The numbers, they told Connerly, proved UC was engaged in unconstitutional discrimination.

Connerly, who had already publicly questioned affirmative action, agreed. For the November regents' meeting, he requested an account of the system's admissions policies from the UC president, who reported back that the affirmative-action policies were necessary because diversity equals excellence and also in order to right the imbalance in medical service to minority communities (minority doctors, presumably, would serve in minority areas). "I said, If you just change some of the words in here this sounds racist to me," Connerly recalls. Meanwhile, he obtained a matrix that served as a guide at UC Berkeley for explicitly scoring applicants by race. The administration denied doing any such thing. "Yet I had this damn matrix that said they did," says Connerly. "And when I confronted them with it, they said, 'Oh, gee, we forgot that.' The bastards just lied."

Ward Connerly was getting a crash course in 1990s affirmative action: its victims, its spurious justifications, its protective cocoon of bureaucratic obfuscation and secrecy. Soon he would help enter a new word into the vocabulary of race preferences—rollback. The low-key Connerly, with his close friend Gov. Pete Wilson providing well-publicized support, succeeded in pushing through measures in July 1995 that eliminated race as a factor in admissions, hiring, and contracting in the UC system. A few months after this high-profile fight had been won, he took the helm of what was then a struggling California Civil Rights Initiative (to be Proposition 209 on the November ballot). Now, not only does the outcome of perhaps the nation's most important election this November depend largely on his managerial and political skills, but his career, motivations, and even personal life have become a crucial part of the battleground.

CCRI opponents have mounted a well-financed and vicious campaign against the initiative—the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations have kicked in $1.5 million. One of the chief targets is Connerly. The *Oakland Tribune* recently ran an editorial cartoon of a dry-cleaning shop, with Klan capes hanging on the racks, called "Connerly & Co—Ethnic-Cleansers." But, what seems to threaten CCRI opponents most is that Connerly is black. Their solution: denying he is. Says State Senator Diane Watson of Los Angeles, "He probably feels this makes him more white than black, and that's what he really wanted to be," adding, "He married a white woman." Or as black San Francisco contractor Fred Jordan put it: "[H]e's a hypocrite of the worst kind. He doesn't particularly want to be called African American or black, but he's using it very astutely to advance his own personal gains. For someone to stand within the ranks and say, 'I'm not black,' but use it to destroy his own people—that's the kind we brand as a traitor."

Connerly's treason goes even deeper, because he has no debts to racial preferences or to the agitations of the post-1964 civil-rights establishment. So, opponents strain to deny this too. One NAACP official told the *L.A. Times* that Connerly and Clarence Thomas are hypocrites because they "thump their chest about merit, when neither of them operates in a realm where merit matters. It's political connections." In a bitter op-ed in the *L.A. Times* Richard Russell, president of the California Alumni Association, attributes Connerly's business success entirely to Pete Wilson. "If I were in Connerly's position, I too might believe that the race card is largely irrelevant and had nothing to do with my successful position." Rather than gratuitous nastiness, this line of argument is essential to defenders of affirmative action—i.e., no minority makes it in America without special help.

What seems to threaten CCRI opponents most is that Connerly is black

But, in Ward Connerly, they have the wrong man; if the personal is political, his life is a perfect preamble to his cur-

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

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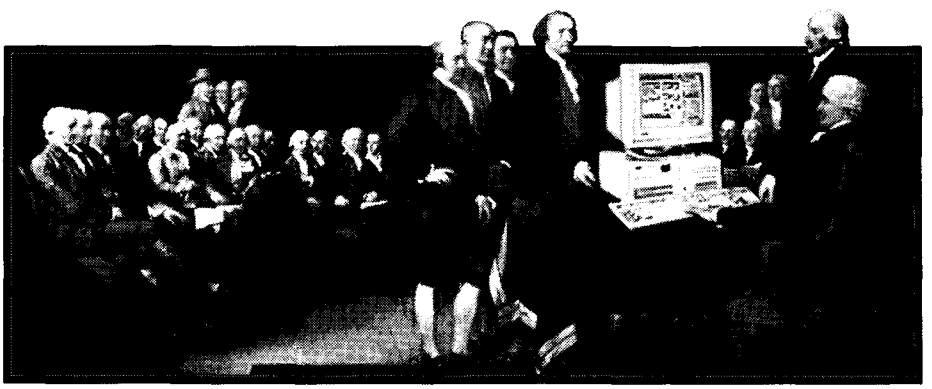

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rent position in the public debate. Connerly's parents divorced in 1941 before he was two and his mother died before he was four. He ended up living with a grandmother in an all-black neighborhood in Sacramento. "There were certain rules that had to be followed," he recalls. "There weren't many, but one of them was study. Before you go anyplace, study." There were four kids in his neighborhood who wanted to go to college, only one of whom owned a car. Connerly had the scores to make it into a four-year school, his friend did not. So Connerly asked his boss for a loan. "[I]f I loan you the money to buy a car," he remembers his boss saying, "[you'll need] insurance and there are going to be a lot of expenses that go with it. I think you're better off just getting by without the car—you'll find a way." His boss did give him a raise. After two years of car-pooling with his friend to American River Junior College, Connerly had saved enough to buy a used '48 Chevy so he could enroll at Cal-State Sacramento.

AFTER graduating—the first in his family to do so—Connerly went to work for Sacramento's re-development agency, then the state housing department. Through his work there he met Pete Wilson, chairman of the State Assembly's new housing committee, who hired him as the committee's chief consultant. The two became fast friends, and Wilson's brand of Republicanism brought Connerly into the party. An early conversation sticks in Connerly's mind. "He said, 'What are your plans in life?' I said, 'Well, I'll probably go back to the department of housing in some capacity.' He said 'What after that?' I said, 'Well, I'll probably someday become a division chief or something like that.' He said, 'Gee, that's awfully limiting. Haven't you ever considered other possibilities?'" Connerly hadn't. Working in government was a safe haven for blacks. Indeed, when the GOP lost its majority, Connerly landed back at the state housing department.

It was several more years before Connerly, in February 1973, felt he had enough experience and contacts to make the plunge into the private sector, where his business has been a success (and, *pace* his critics, has little to do with Wilson's patronage and nothing to do with set-asides). Connerly is 57 years old, balding and unassuming, if blunt. He has been involved in politics, but only as a fund-raiser and informal advisor to Wilson, and so friends were surprised when he splashed onto the front pages with CCRI. His moderate positions on social issues like abortion and gay rights make him an unlikely champion of such a hot-button issue. But Connerly has taken to it with a vengeance. "He has an innate pro-Americanism that in a way makes him more in league with right-wing conservatives," says one CCRI insider. "I think this has been a radicalizing campaign for him as he's watched some of his moderate allies go wishy-washy." Tom Wood and Glynn Custred, the two academics who originated CCRI, first came across Connerly at an August 1994 Assembly hearing on CCRI. "He stole the show," says Wood. "Glynn and I started plotting immediately on the drive back to the Bay area about how we could get him on board."

Connerly initially wasn't interested—worried primarily about his personal security (he received telephone threats for pushing the UC resolutions). But by the end of 1995 CCRI was on the verge of extinction. It had a couple of professors behind it and a lot of publicity, but little in the way of cash or organization. In November, when it had about three months to get 700,000 signatures, it had only 200,000 and signature gathering had been suspended. Wood and Co. went once again to Connerly, and he agreed to come on board. He and Wilson immediately got on the phone to provide a fund-raising infusion. Connerly, meanwhile, became CCRI's chief spokesman. "Without Ward and Pete Wilson," says Wood, "CCRI wouldn't have made it on the ballot."

Will it pass? The "no" forces have the presumptive advantage in any initiative fight. In this case, opponents are drawing on the resources of myriad organizations on the Left to try to overcome CCRI's roughly 2 to 1 lead in the polls. Early on, opponents concluded their effort would have to have a white female face. They have indeed shamelessly distorted CCRI's Clause C—innocuous language meant to exempt institutions like single-sex bathrooms from CCRI's scope—to argue that the measure legalizes sex discrimination. They also stand to get a boost from a judge's ruling—under appeal—that the relatively innocuous phrase "affirmative action" instead of just "preferential treatment" must appear in the ballot language. Furthermore, corporations are frightened of CCRI; Connerly recently had to ask Wilson to talk two CEOs out of publicly opposing the initiative (Pacific Gas and Electric has actually come out in opposition). The reaction of the national party has been similar, as Bob Dole appears to have chucked the issue overboard. "Maybe we should count our blessings," Connerly comments dryly.

But the reaction of national Republicans leaves Connerly in an odd position, reviled by opponents while spurned by those who should be some of his strongest (and most grateful) supporters. "The Senator Watson stuff isn't as bad as the people that you don't even know who point you out," says Connerly. He is often recognized by blacks in airports and elsewhere (whites don't seem to know him yet) who stare at him in disgust. "You wouldn't be human if you didn't react in some way to that," he says.

The Republican Party, meanwhile, is not always the most congenial home. Connerly will give speeches at Republican events, get standing ovations, then have a blue-haired lady ask him if he happens to know "the nicest black man I ever met" in Philadelphia or somewhere else. "I just want to grab her," Connerly laughs, "and say, 'Didn't you listen to what I said a few minutes ago? Didn't you listen at all?'"

THE GOP's national leaders aren't listening. "If there ever was an issue that defines Republicanism . . . this is it," he says. "I just want my party to stand for something." In the meantime, the small band of CCRI organizers and a handful of California GOP officials will have to do the standing for it, in the face of a withering opposition. Connerly, who describes himself as "57 going on 70," says he has learned a couple things: 1) "How truly biased some newspapers are." 2) "You don't have to have facts to attack an initiative." 3) "The voters are terribly uninformed." But, Connerly says, a fourth lesson trumps the others. "There's a certain magic about democracy," he says. "I can go into a room with fifty people and perhaps only one in fifty understands what the issue is really about, but somehow their collective intelligence, not in terms of IQ, but in terms of the values and the instincts they bring, transcends [everything else]." There's no one in a better position to know all they have to transcend than Ward Connerly. □

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Powder Keg

JOHNATHAN SUNLEY

BANJA LUKA, MOSTAR

THE mayor of Banja Luka is almost amiable. Dozens of business cards displayed under the surface of his glass-topped desk testify to his openness toward the world's media—in a few minutes, he will be called by a Japanese newspaper. Answering a question about the way his town has changed in three years of war, he ends on an elegiac note about the closed theaters and museums he misses. I ask if there's anything else, thinking of Banja Luka's 15 demolished mosques and one in particular: the white-stoned Ferhad Pasha, sometimes called the Bosnian Chartres. He pauses. "You know," he says, "in Yugoslavia we were also famous for sport. Handball, especially."

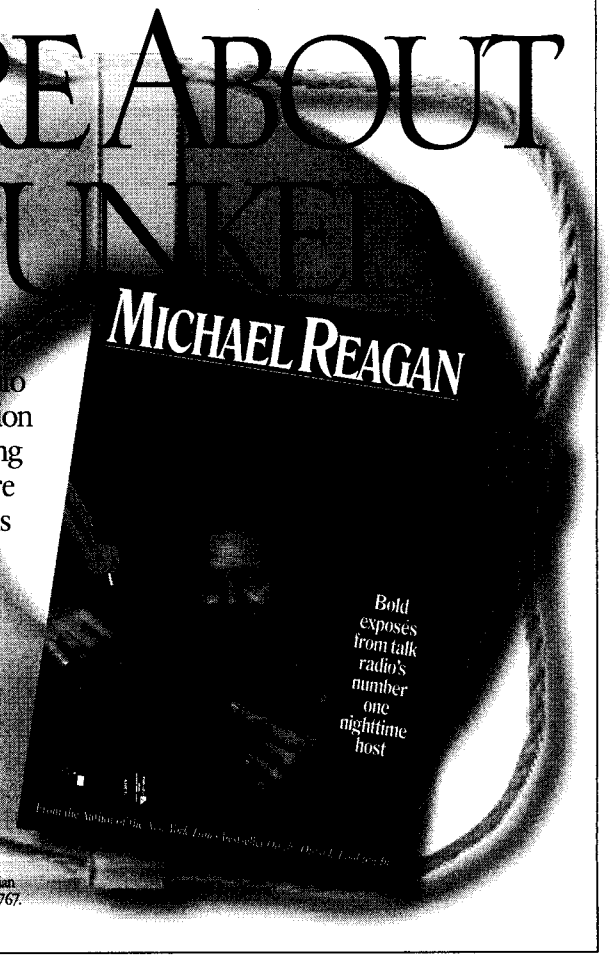
As Bob Dole casts around for a way to win over the Republican convention, he could do worse than remind delegates of his rock-steady approach toward the tragedy of the former Yugoslavia. On the campaign trail himself four years ago, Bill Clinton made shameless use of the issue and raised hopes among Bosnians that if elected he would protect them and their savaged country. Once he was in office, however, these assurances fell by the wayside, and it was only after exhausting all other options—costing not just tens of thousands more lives, but the remnants of the United States's reputation in the region—that the Administration hit upon the idea of standing up to the aggressors in this war: the Serbs. Under the terms of last November's painfully elaborate Dayton Peace Agreement, 20,000 American ground troops were committed to Bosnia in a supposed attempt to help hold the country together. Confronted since then by numerous violations by the Serbs, the White House has confined itself to a single goal: not getting tough, but getting out.

Mr. Sunley writes about Central and Eastern Europe from Budapest.

Before the conflict erupted in Bosnia–Herzegovina, Banja Luka was the republic's second city: a reasonably prosperous if charmless place whose natural economic and cultural ties were not to Sarajevo—let alone Belgrade—but Zagreb. (Indeed, turning on the television, one is somewhat surprised to find that the clearest programming is still broadcast by TV Croatia.) From April 1992 to September 1995, however, it served as a springboard for the Bosnian Serb Army's ultimately successful attempts to carve out the statelet now called

Any attempt to arrest Karadzic or General Mladic would result in the local population's turning nasty

LIBERALS ARE ABOUT TO GET DUNKED



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Republika Srpska (Serb Republic) and even more notoriously as the administrative center for the wholesale ethnic cleansing—or Resettlement of Populations and Exchange of Material Goods, as the process was officially termed—that went with them. Today it has a gloomy, down-at-the-heel air, made worse by frequent power cuts. At night, only the glow of candles identifies the various street-stalls and cafés, creating the impression of a sprawling, outdoor Orthodox ceremony.

Home to a fifth of the Serb Republic's million-strong populations, Banja Luka thinks of itself as the rump state's rightful capital. It also basks in the reputation of being host to the liberal alternative to the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnian Serb supremo Radovan Karadzic, which centers instead on the small mountain resort of Pale. The chatter around town among the numerous organizations charged with implementing the civilian side of the Dayton accords is how to strengthen this opposition ahead of next month's elections.

Curiously, for a body which often protests that it is only responsible for the military side of Dayton, the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) has also joined in this game. In April, the headquarters of the British sector was relocated to a metal factory just outside Banja Luka, thereby becoming the only divisional HQ not based in the other of the two "entities" established at Dayton: the Federation of Bosnia–Herzegovina. If this move was intended to reassure the Bosnian Serbs of IFOR's impartiality, then it was also supposed to signal support for the Banja Luka "moderates" (most of whom are, in their own way, just as oblivious as the mayor to the horror of what has happened) in their tussle with Pale's "extremists."

Such support takes strange forms. In the darkened offices of one so-called opposition party in Banja Luka, I came across rows of neatly arranged copies of the *Sunday Times*, courtesy of IFOR, even though there was no one there who knew English.

There are, though, two more serious problems with this kind of approach, which go to the heart of the partial failure of IFOR's mission. In getting to know the Serbian psyche at first hand, the West's peacekeepers have become convinced that any attempt to arrest either Karadzic or General Ratko Mladic—"Lift K & M problem," as the putative operation is known—would result in the local population's turning nasty, making the rest of their job impossible. (No one bothers any longer to pretend that the difficulty is one of tracking suspects down, and with good reason, given that the poster issued by the War Crimes Tribunal must be the only "Wanted" notice ever to include addresses.) This applies especially to the British contingent, which seems to view sharing jokes and slivovitz with the Serbs as part of its duties. At least the Americans are not afraid to be seen as an occupying army, which is why Richard Holbrooke's recent diplomatic dance in Belgrade is all the more unfortunate. For, by having Karadzic merely sidelined rather than extradited, he saved not only

Luba Kolomytseva

Karadzic's face but that of all Bosnian Serbs—thereby perpetuating the problem.

The second area where IFOR has failed concerns the return home of the country's more than two million refugees and displaced persons. Again, this is an objective IFOR was only authorized—not obliged—by Dayton to achieve. But, again, IFOR is the only organization now present in Bosnia–Herzegovina with the muscle to make it happen. As things stand, in the eight months that have elapsed since the Dayton accords were signed, the number of Bosnians forcibly resettled has actually grown rather than diminished. The most dramatic increase occurred when Bosnian Serbs evicted some 40,000 of their own kind from the suburbs of Sarajevo, prior to transferring authority over the country's capital to the Federation. Even as I was in Banja Luka, another thirty of the town's handful of remaining Muslims were driven out by Serbian mobs.

A laconic internal IFOR memo about this episode reports: "These incidents demonstrate the precarious lives that minorities lead and emphasize that an ethnically mixed population, living in harmony, is some way off." For many of those serving with IFOR, it is indeed an article of faith that reintegration of Bosnia's once tightly woven communities—and hence of the country itself—is something that will happen, if at all, only long after IFOR has departed.

At first glance, IFOR's view is merely pragmatic. You can't, after all, force people to live with one another, can you? What the Bosnian war in fact demonstrates is that you can all too easily force people to live apart. The images of indiscriminate shelling, burnt-out houses, and columns of refugees that as recently as 12 months ago made up the news reports had nothing to do with endemic inter-ethnic tensions resulting from Serbian (or Croatian) anxieties about their womenfolk being forced to wear veils, etc. They were the direct product of a policy of deliberate annexation initiated in one neighboring country, Serbia, and later abetted by another, Croatia, for which proxies on the ground were armed and organized. IFOR may well have done a respectable job of putting the heavier of these weapons temporarily out of reach. But only by apprehending or at least facing down the most malevolent of these local warlords who have now switched over—or rather, back—into politics and policing can IFOR help generate the conditions to advance the primary purported goal of Dayton: the survival of Bosnia–Herzegovina as a single state.

PROOF of this proposition is to be found at the other end of the country. For two years, now, the Herzegovina town of Mostar has been under European Union administration, following the crucial American-brokered agreement between Croats and Muslims which ended the bitter conflict between these former allies. Fighting in Mostar in 1993–94 had resulted in a front line almost exactly along the river Neretva, which cuts through the middle of the town. It had also led to the destruction of the exquisite Ottoman-era Old Bridge, which used to span this river—and which became instead a potent symbol of division.

Today, despite the rebuilding of this and several other bridges, almost all Muslims live among the ruins of the east side of the town, and nearly all Croats

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on the less damaged and more modern west side. It would be idle to pretend that there is much love lost between the two communities. Indeed, many Croats here delight in telling you that the two peoples cannot possibly now live together. I was listening to this lecture—spiced with comments about the inevitable clash between Catholicism and Islam—from the chairman of the Mostar branch of the Croatian Democratic Union, when I noticed out of the window the headstones in yet another makeshift Muslim graveyard, the burial dates on which refuted the point he was making. For these Bosnian Muslims had been killed in the summer of 1992, when together with Croats they had saved their city from capture by surrounding Serbs.

The wedge that was afterward driven between them owed more to crude economics than to culture or religion. Unlike the gentle green slopes of Bosnia, the monumental limestone mounts of Herzegovina yield only two crops worthy of the name: grapes and tobacco. With both falling under state monopoly, locals have historically had to smuggle to survive, and it was in this tradition that Bosnia–Herzegovina came into being and exists even now, as a kind of self-licensing customs zone. A number of Croats with criminal pasts have grown extremely wealthy by these arrangements. For them, the more checkpoints, borders, tolls, taxes, and currencies the better.

Judging by the two assassination attempts against him, the retired German mayor brought in to govern Mostar in the name of the European Union has done a surprisingly good job in lowering the profit margin for these gangsters. The real test, however, for the policy of reintegration came with the local elections held at the end of June. Rightly seen as a kind of dry run for the nationwide September elections, these showed that if the correct formula of carrot and stick is applied, Bosnia still has a chance.

On the enforcement side, the EU administration built on the reasonable level of security it has managed to create over the last two years, by flooding the town with police and troops. IFOR provided 2,500 heavily armed personnel of its own, which meant that with just 97 polling stations to cover (where legions of international monitors kept a beady eye on the ballot boxes), the main danger on polling day was a collision between the various types of iron-clad vehicles that hurtled round the narrow streets of Mostar's old town.

Over-the-top as these arrangements undoubtedly appeared, they ensured that thousands of residents found the courage to cross the river and vote in the area they used to live in before the ethnic segregation. In doing so, many lingered for a while to talk with neighbors they had not seen for years, and in some cases even with those who had moved into the apartments they themselves had vacated. And yet, had the original electoral rules been adhered to—allowing people to vote where they live now, as opposed to at the time of the 1991 population census—there would have been no incentive to overcome these physical and psychological barriers.

Another important factor was that absentee balloting was permitted only for refugees in four Western European countries. Otherwise, residents of Mostar who had settled elsewhere had to return home to vote. Around 18,000 did so, including a few hundred Serbs (it might have been more, had Belgrade laid on more buses for the ones now living in rump Yugoslavia), thus bringing the total turn out to an impressive 60 per cent of the eligible electorate.

If this is the good news, then the bad news is that September's elections will be run along very different lines. As interpreted by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (which has a very patchy record when it comes to post-Communist democracy-

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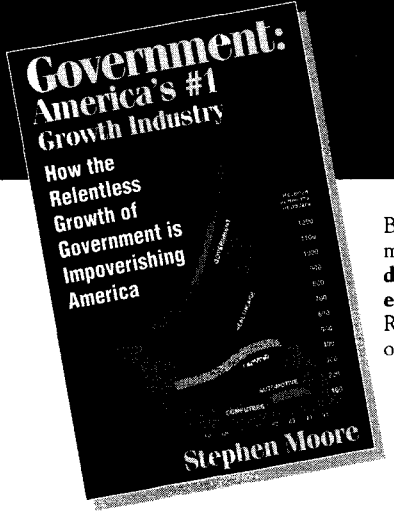

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building), the electoral rules allow both voting in areas where Bosnians live now and absentee balloting. In other words, a Serb resettled from, say, Sarajevo to Srebrenica will be entitled to put down roots on the site of an appalling massacre; and the Muslim who escaped with his life to Tuzla in what is now the Federation, will be able to vote as though still in his old constituency, without so much as the symbolic gesture of returning for the day to what is now the Serb Republic to give that vote at least some meaning.

THE alternative would be to attempt Mostar writ large. Granted, given that we are talking about ten simultaneous elections on three different levels (local, "entity," and all-Bosnian), and given an electorate of more than three million, this would entail travel in all directions on a spectacular scale. But why not? What is IFOR's much-vaunted "freedom of movement" for, if not this? Indeed, rather than already starting to withdraw personnel, why doesn't the U.S. boost its contribution this month, and persuade its IFOR partners to extend voting over the course of a week? This would give more time for the breaking down of barriers and ease road congestion.

If this sounds like a logistical nightmare of almost surreal complexity, it could be easier and cheaper—in the long run—than waiting for the grievances and anger accumulated over the course of the war to explode again five or ten years on. Conventional wisdom holds that patience is what's needed now to let these wounds heal, and that time is on Bosnia's side. This is wishful thinking. Unless the most is made of IFOR's presence to reintegrate and reunify the country in the face of the militant but limited opposition to this aim, the two "entities" will be pulled steadily in the direction of their respective patron-states, Serbia and Croatia, leaving behind a phantom Bosnia capable—like the Madonna at Medugorje—of appearing rarely to a handful of true believers, but seldom if at all to anyone else.

Some cynics say that this is secretly what the Muslims want. Before the war they made up a plurality of Bosnia's 4.3-million population (44 per cent), and, it is argued, whatever their losses they are still numerous enough to carve out a viable territory about the size of Sardinia somewhere in the center of the country. The *raison d'être* of this rump state would be Islam.

Traveling around central Bosnia I came across little to support such claims. It is true that here as everywhere in the Federation, you find some areas under Muslim military and administrative authority, and others controlled by Croats, but almost none run jointly. In that sense, the Federation is still a dead letter. On the other hand, since these are often towns or villages side by side (or even districts in the same town), and since the overall level of intermingling among Muslims and Croats is high, the U.S. should not write the project off. Paradoxically, this is a favorite refrain of propagandists in the Serb Republic—even though it is precisely the Muslims' continuing tolerance toward Bosnia's third constituent nation, the Serbs, that causes some Croats to be suspicious of Muslims.

For tolerance today in Muslim-run Bosnia, look at Travnik. Though it was once the seal of the Ottoman viziers and was turned during the war into one large, and heavily bombarded, refugee center, the town's Serbian Orthodox church still stands and its graveyard is well tended. Also well cared for is the imposing nineteenth-century school constructed by Jesuits.

But Travnik is best known as the birthplace of Ivo Andric, the Nobel Prize-winning novelist. Though often portrayed as the most quintessentially "Bosnian" of writers, Andric was in truth sneering about his native town and people, and especially hostile toward anything remotely Muslim. There is, therefore a nice irony in the way that his home has now been turned into the Club Divan, where they serve excellent grilled lamb but strictly no alcohol.

This Islamic prohibition is still little observed in Bosnia. The reflex response, indeed, of many members of the governing Party of Democratic Action, when you ask them whether the war has made them less "Bosnian" and more Muslim, is to bring out a bottle of brandy. But it is true that many more women wear headscarves, and many more men are bearded, than used to be so. True, too, that throughout the country mosques and minarets are being rebuilt with Saudi and other Arab money.

On the other hand, this outside investment may serve as a centripetal force, binding the country back together. The problem the Croats face in "their" zones of the Federation is a demographic one: too much land, too few Croats. As for the Serb Republic, one glance at its peculiar shape—like a pair of compasses—is enough to see that it's not economically viable, especially as the industrial area round Banja Luka is also the most under threat of being cut off from Serbia.

But isn't religion likely to strengthen as a dividing factor over time? Not according to the Mufti of Mostar. Sitting in the cobbled courtyard of the recently repaired Mehmed Pasha mosque on the banks of the river Neretva, he turns the question around: "If people take their cross to kill each other, that's not religion. If Bosnians were *more* religious, there wouldn't have been—won't be—war." □

Frozen Future

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

SCOTTSDALE

"THE stroke of death," claimed Cleopatra, "is as a lover's pinch." Well, perhaps: if you are about to be desposed and taken captive. But for most people the arrival of the grim reaper is a tragedy, a disaster, and, in this most advanced of countries, something of an insult. We eat broccoli, we transplant hearts, but in the end people just keep on dying—more than two million of them each year. Other civilizations have claimed that nothing can be done, but for us to accept this seems, well, un-American. Each death (other than those of the executed, of course) represents a technological failure, a rebuke to Uncle Sam.

But it ain't over till it's over and, some say, an answer is at hand. Yankee ingenuity has done it again and come up with cryonics. Put simply, this involves deep-freezing the recently deceased in the hope that some cure for what killed them will be found in the future. The idea is not new. Benjamin Franklin

Mr. Stuttaford lives in hope.

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wanted to be "immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, till that time [when he could] be recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country."

It was not to be, but Franklin's dream, at least, lived on, to be revived as "cryonics" in the early 1960s. Cryonics: It's a goofy name and a wildly optimistic idea, but one suited to its era. It was the age of the Jetsons and the transistor, a time when science seemed to be sweeping all before it. Freeze people? Why not? James Bedford agreed, and on January 12, 1967 this 73-year-old psychology professor was frozen ("suspended") shortly after his death. Cryonics had found its Henry Hudson, perhaps even its Columbus. Doctor Bedford is, after all, still with us and "apparently" in good shape, ending up with the cryonicists of the Alcor Life Extension Foundation after many years in a mini-warehouse.

This is only appropriate. Alcor is the industry leader. Its Scottsdale, Arizona, facility is home to 32 "patients," almost as many, it estimates, as are held by its three competitors combined. These numbers exclude the occasional freelancer as well as the two Canadians interred in the permafrost, but *that*, says Steve Bridge, Alcor's likable president, "is just cold burial."

Cryonics is much more than that. To start with, it's a lot less sedate. There is no time to linger weeping around the deathbed. Instead, an Alcor Emergency Response Team will spring into action with CPR support to maintain blood flow to your brain in an attempt to reduce ischemic damage. Your body is rapidly cooled down and unless you have chosen to die in Scottsdale (which is best) you will be put into a special traveling pack (make sure it doesn't leak—this can cause trouble with the authorities) after a procedure involving preservatives, ice, and Maalox. On arrival, a glycerol-based solution will be pumped through your system to reduce the tissue damage caused by freezing. Once you are thoroughly perfused you are ready to be cooled down to –196° C. Oh, there's just one other thing. If you have elected for "neurosuspension" only, this is the moment that they cut off your head.

"Deep cooling" then follows, at the end of which you are lowered head first, or head only, into a large stainless steel cylinder. There, in a quiet back room in Alcor's suburban office block, you await your destiny, a cryonaut in an unmarked metal can, kept cold by occasionally replenished liquid nitrogen. Père-Lachaise it is not, but then it is not meant to be. Scottsdale is no final resting place, but a way station on the return to life. Or at least that is the idea.

But how good an idea is it? Conventional cryobiologists, the people who freeze sperm or the odd body part, are skeptical. They point to the extensive cell damage associated both with death and the degree of cooling required for a whole body or even a head. As their Darth Vader, Arthur Rowe of NYU's School of Medicine, has explained, "believing cryonics could reanimate somebody who has been frozen is like believing you can turn hamburger back into a cow." In addition, even if enough cells can be revived, it is also far from

Roberto Parada

clear, to say the least, that the patient's mind would have been preserved.

Well, if cryonics is another junk science, its practitioners differ from the parapsychology crowd in one crucial respect: the claims they make are fairly modest. As one Alcor leaflet is careful to say, "we don't know if what we are doing will work." They can, and they do, point to signs of real progress in cryopreservation, while touting a future nanotechnology as the key to repairing damaged cells in, say, the next "5 to 150 years." Even today, they note, we regularly "revive" people who previous generations would have abandoned. Meanwhile, James Bedford sleeps on, and no frozen dogs have yet come back from the dead (that's an urban legend, as is, while we are on the subject, the freezing of Walt Disney). Will Alcor succeed in the end? Talking binarily, Steve Bridge reckons that the odds are "either one or nothing," which sounds better than the New York State Lottery.

The trouble is that betting on cryonics is rather more expensive. There are annual dues to pay and when the, ahem, *moment* comes, a neurosuspension will set you back $50,000; "whole body" will cost $120,000. Alcor's 390 living members don't seem to mind. Much of the money goes into a patient-care fund, which is essential. Illiquid cryonicists can, as history shows, lead to liquid patients. Alcor itself is not-for-profit and looks it. The facility is spartan, the decor basic (framed pictures of the suspended), the staff underpaid.

To understand what motivates them look no further than the *USS Enterprise* proudly displayed in one office. These people are science's samurai, gung-ho garage tinkerers in the Orville and Wilbur tradition. The only doctor on the premises is dead, although they do have a veterinary surgeon and a nurse or two to help out. Steve Bridge himself is a librarian by profession. "I know where to look things up," he says brightly. Rationalists by inclination, most cryonicists are not religious. Their faith is the future, an Asimovian dream of scientific progress, often accompanied (this may ring a bell with Newt watchers) by a strong libertarian streak, a blend, in short, of Ayn Rand and Captain Kirk.

Ayn Rand herself "knew about" cryonics (but, no, she's not frozen either). As she would have predicted, officialdom has done its best to be difficult, notably in Riverside, California, where a series of absurd events led to Dora Kent (or at least her head) becoming the movement's Rosa Parks. Meanwhile, right-to-die issues bubble ominously below the surface. The final stages of a disease can destroy the very cells that Alcor is trying to preserve. So, argued one cancer patient, why not end things more quickly and allow the cryonicists to get to work? He lost his case, which reached a California Appellate Court and, fictionalized, an episode of *L.A. Law*, but, happily, survived.

So, doubtless, will cryonics. And so it should. Its devotees may seem a little nutty, and so pro-life that they want another, but that's their call, even at $120,000 a throw. It will probably never work, but, as cryonicists see it, what is the alternative? As Steve Bridge puts it, "The nice thing about life is that you never know what is going to happen next. The problem with death is that you do know what is going to happen next. Nothing."

And then he smiles. Confidently. □

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Chicago, which still toddles—though
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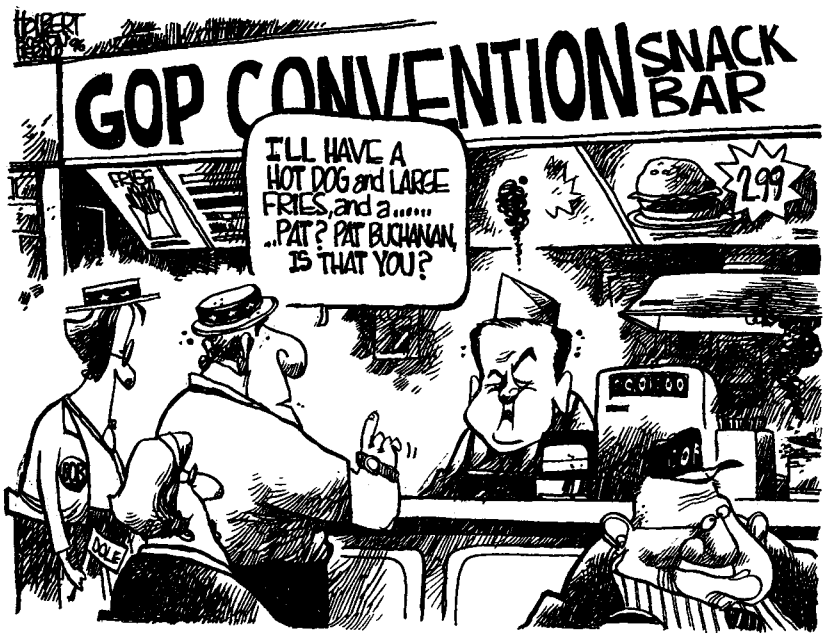
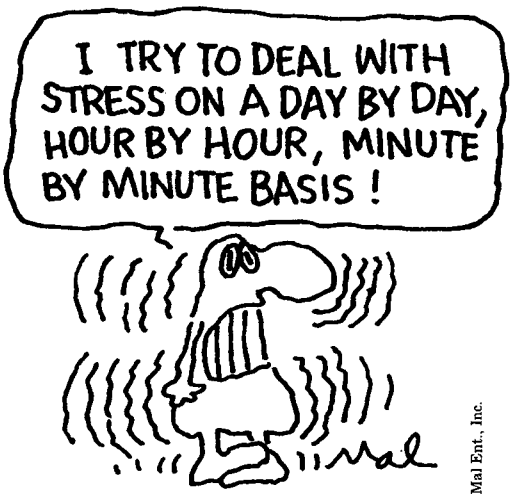
Dread things that go bump or go Boo!

—W. H. von Dreele





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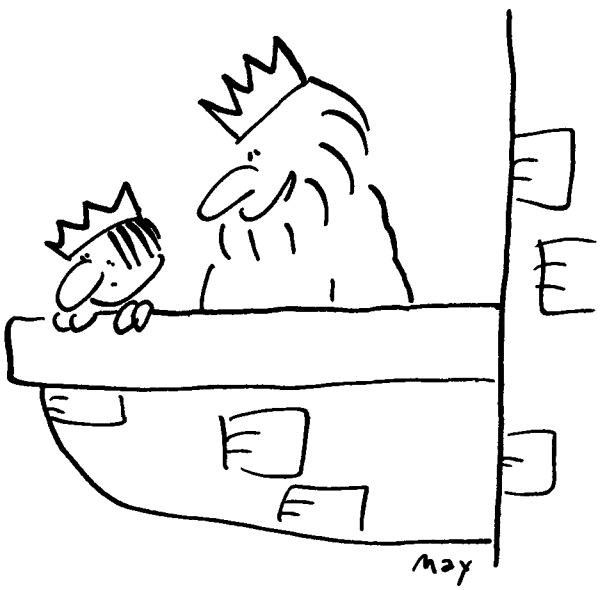

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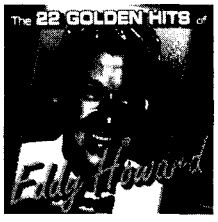

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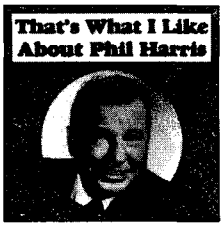

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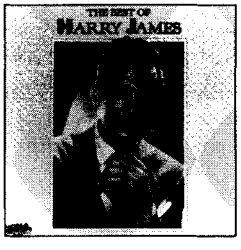

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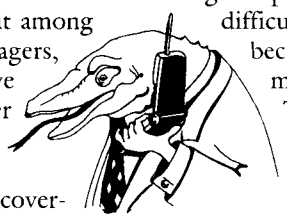
GEKKO

BEEN an educational month or two, hasn't it? With every turn in the markets' fortunes, we get bloodthirsty commentary on the losses suffered by bulls or bears. But among professional money managers, some of the biggest losers have been people who are neither bulls nor bears, but trend followers.



For all the talk in financial coverage about "bulls" and "bears" in gold or equities, the truth is that the biggest group of traders are those who have cranked the prices for the last couple of years into their desktop PCs, pressed the key for their charting program, and called in a buy or a sell order when the answer came out. In the old days, the smart money followed the trends in prices and pretty consistently took the money of the small speculators who were ready to gamble on dramatic reversals. But now anybody with cable TV and a MasterCard can pay $169.99 and buy a trend-following program touted in a commercial that is just as capable as most professionals' systems. So does this mean that everybody becomes rich as the same time?

Sorry, Mr. Market doesn't think that's how things should work. He's there to take your money, not to give you his. So in June, July, and much of August, the trend followers in bonds, equities, gold, oil, corn, etc., got whacked. For those who are left, there are some torments being prepared in the currency markets (look for a Dollar/DM and Dollar/Yen whipsaw) and other, unexpected quarters.

For the moment, contrarian trading is working well in a number of markets, as it often does at turning points. In the meantime, trend-following commodities-fund managers are giving back their gains. Their programs will work again, no doubt, but by then you'll be able to pick up that software at garage sales or sheriffs' auctions.

■ Just like those trend-following programs that work well right up to the point where they fail spectacularly, the users of platinum-group metals have been saving their pennies by keeping very little inventory on hand and watching the prices drift down. These are difficult commodities to analyze, because they're both industrial metals and precious metals. The biggest consumers are Japanese jewelry manufacturers, the makers of auto emission-control devices, and electronic-component makers. The emission-device makers and the electronics companies are always aggressively trying either to find substitutes for one or another of the PGMs or to reduce their inventories.

Unfortunately for these users, the PGMs are uniquely useful for their physical and chemical properties. For all the decades and millions spent on substitution, it hasn't worked too well. But keeping inventories low and living hand to mouth or even leasing PGMs *has* worked. This may seem like a dangerous strategy, given that world mine production hasn't been enough to meet demand. But so far in the Nineties, the difference has been made up by sales from Russian inventories. Not many people know how large those inventories are, but according to some calculations, they could run out by 1998. Whether it happens in 1998, next year, or in 1999, when the last of the Russian PGM stockpiles are finally depleted, you are going to see a dramatic runup in prices.

The runup is likely to be much greater in palladium than in platinum. There aren't any palladium bracelets to be melted down, and the industrial users have been shifting to palladium. Not only is it cheaper, but the automakers need it to comply with new standards requiring the reduction of hydrocarbon emissions. North America has two palladium plays, Montana's Stillwater Mining and Canada's North American Palladium. Both are traded on the NASDAQ system. Remember, there will be a wait of at least a couple of years before the Russian stockpile runs out, but when it does their earnings growth could be explosive.

myers–rothco

■ As I write this, the equity markets and the *Wall Street Journal* seem to be cheering the return of the Goldilocks economy—not too hot, not too cold. It's August, and my guess is that what they want is not too much thinking about their positions while they're on vacation. But this is going to be more like a cheap horror-movie version of Goldilocks, where she gets eaten by the three bears.

Since I suggested a flattening trade back in early July (short the 2-year U.S. note and long the 30-year bond), it has moved about 5 basis points against me. Not much, but enough for me to go through the logic again. I decided to stick with the idea. The most reliable indicators show that we are within a quarter or two of a recession, and the yield curve has always flattened at those times.

What's different about this time is that the bond market is so precariously balanced on highly leveraged "carry" positions put on by speculators rather than investors. If the Fed or the markets raise short-term rates above long-term rates for an inverted yield curve, as often happens at the end of expansions, the result will be a serious bond crash as the carry trades are unwound. That is why Greenspan has to walk a much narrower ledge than he or his predecessors did at past turning points in the economy.

As for stocks, you can bet we are close to the end of the current expansion in corporate earnings. Costs are rising while the consumer and capital-goods markets are weakening. Upside surprises on profits are going to be scant in coming quarters. This will, after a pause, hit stocks again.

The third bear to munch on poor Goldilocks will be a dollar decline. Everybody wants a strong dollar; foreigners so they can sell more goods, the Treasury so it can sell more bonds. When the dollar decline comes, the knock-on effects won't be pretty.

—JOHN DIZARD

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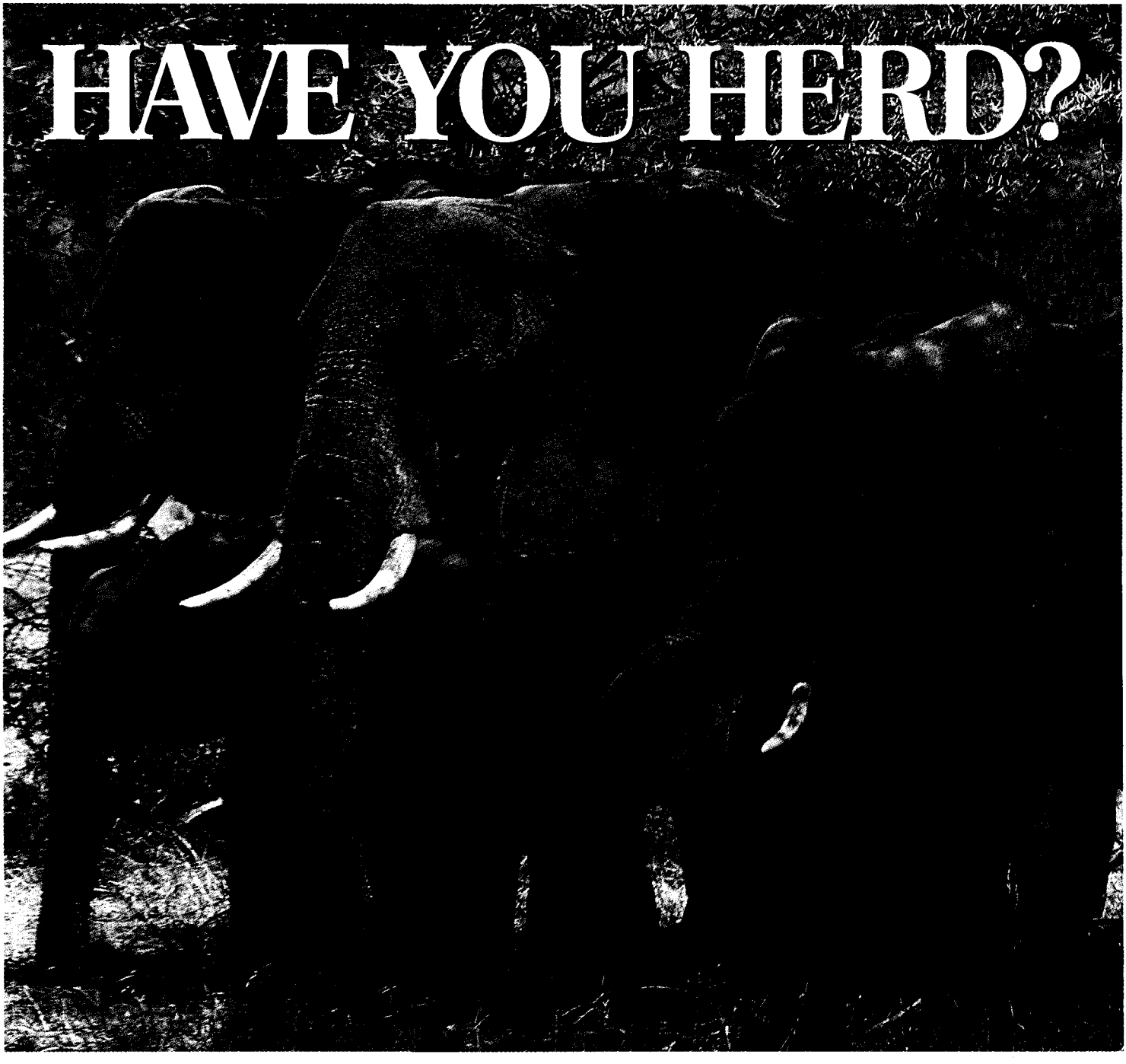

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The REAL CLINTON

The Real Clinton is more or less the opposite of the Real McCoy. What you see is very definitely not *what you get, and indeed it may not be what you see a moment or two later. There is a chameleon quality about the 42nd President of the United States, a quicksilver opportunism, that enables him to don and doff identities like cloaks: the New Democrat who promises to end welfare as we know it, the paleo-liberal who takes on the Klan in defense of black churches, the economic statesman who steers by the bond market, the policy wonk avid to socialize one-seventh of the U.S. economy, the moralist who crusades against illegitimacy, the redneck roué with Astroturf in the back of his pick-up, the nostalgia-merchant who wants teenagers home by seven, the futurist with visions of an information superhighway, and at all times and on all occasions the bringer of empathy who feels the pain of that day's audience, whether millionaires or the poor, feminists or Good Ol' Boys, labor unions or blue-chip managements.*

Underneath all the empathy, however, there is a set of policies and attitudes that gives a sort of consistency to his Administration, and even to his personality. In the following pages, we examine this Real Clinton from several angles. We look at Clintonism, that ambidexterity of campaigning right and governing left; at Clinton's steering of the economy by the stars of focus group and polling data; at the multicultural refashioning of the American identity in which he nervously colludes; at his stumblings down the multilateral by-ways of foreign policy, talking loudly and carrying a small stick; at his high-minded healing and sly exploitation of America's most entrenched problem—race; at the manifold ways in which he, Hillary, and their confederates hidden in the last agencies of the alphabet, have abused federal power to extend their own personal power; and, finally, at that most extraordinary amphibian, Clinton the Bully Pulpiteer. Tales, in short, to / "harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood / make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres / thy knotted and combined locks to part / and each particular hair to stand an end / like quills upon the fretful porpentine." *Now read on.*

The Potemkin Presidency

RAMESH PONNURU

HAVING written off Bill Clinton for most of 1995, Republicans are now tempted to ascribe supernatural powers of persuasion to him. Neither attitude encourages constructive thought on how to counter his strategy. But despite the image of an Administration adrift, President Clinton has arrived, through a mixture of accident and design, at a strategy for Democrats to survive and perhaps even prosper in ideologically uncongenial times. While there may not be a Clintonian ideology, it is possible to speak of a Clintonian style of politics.

Its most important feature has been the attempted retooling of the Democratic Party as the servant of middle-class interests through the mechanism of government. Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg explained the reasoning in a much-noted essay in the Fall 1991 *American Prospect*: "Democrats need to rediscover broad-based social policy that sends a larger message: Democrats are for 'everybody,' not just the 'have-nots.' That means defending and enlarging social insurance initiatives that reach the lower and middle classes rather than constructing safety nets that protect only the poor." Means-tested programs stigmatize recipients and are, Greenberg thinks, easy to cut; middle-class entitlements are forever.

National health insurance, a long-standing goal of the Left, was thus also a means of expanding the Democratic voter base and creating a permanent Democratic majority. It would do to the middle class what Social Security had done to the elderly: make a majority of them beholden to the Federal Government and its political champions, in this case for their very lives. As Grace-Marie Arnett points out (p. 42), the Clintons have pursued this objective with essen-

Mr. Ponnuru is NR*'s national reporter.*

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROMAN GENN

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tially Fabian tactics. They have tried to establish beachheads within the health-care market from which to launch new government interventions. The Clintons' 1993–94 health-care "reform" effort would have been a large, and probably irreversible, step toward socialized medicine. Time is already beginning to obscure just how close they came.

Clinton's repeated proposals to expand subsidies for higher education are a smaller-scale version of the same entitlement strategy. The government will now step forward to finance increased access to the very sectors of the economy the government has most inflated. It's a proposal well crafted to help Clinton make inroads among traditional GOP strongholds in the middle class and even upper middle class. The Republican Congress has forced Clinton to spend more time playing defense: instead of increasing public dependence on government, he has been vigilantly blocking cuts in government programs that benefit people who work. Clinton's massive expansion of the earned income tax credit, and subsequent determination to protect that expansion from Republican budget-cutters, is a case in point.

Even on welfare, where President Clinton has felt it necessary to appear responsive to middle-class demands for reform and retrenchment, he has assiduously avoided policies that would reduce the scope and power of government or its allied institutions in liberaldom. Indeed, as Robert Rector observes (p. 40), Clinton originally sought window-dressing reforms that would actually increase the power of the welfare establishment.

After the Republicans took Congress, he moved toward a liberal version of welfare reform, which, geared as it is toward processing people through welfare rather than keeping them off it, creates opportunities for expanding state services: child-care subsidies, job training, transportation assistance, child-support enforcement. Clinton has followed a similar pattern on education: he has a long history of supporting the least reform the public demands and the most the education establishment will tolerate. So, for instance, he's all in favor of charter schools, as long as they don't escape the burden of federal regulations or threaten the power of teachers' unions.

To woo the middle class, Clinton has also had to tack center-right on "values." Greenberg readily acknowledged the point in his 1991 essay: "Democrats cannot win over the average family," he wrote, "unless there are some limits on the party's moral agnosticism." Clinton's cultural rhetoric is now to the right of George Bush's. We know that President Clinton read Ben Wattenberg's *Values Matter Most*, and he has talked incessantly about "values" ever since. (The popularity of that word ought, incidentally, to depress conservatives. "'Values' beat 'virtues' eleven to nothing in a focus group we did," says pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick. "It's amazing Bill Bennett sold any books.")

On social and cultural issues, Clinton has used the bully pulpit quite effectively to signal that he shares the public's values. And if, when Clinton says that he supports introducing school uniforms or firing incompetent teachers, some people are misled to believe that he has some policy initiative to translate the rhetoric into reality, well, that's no skin off his back. He has struck a particularly tough pose on crime, though, as David Kopel observes (p. 43), there is much less to his record than meets the eye. Clinton's gauzy communitarian rhetoric is also deployed on fiscal issues. During last fall's budget showdown, he was constantly claiming to be defending "our values" from Republicans intent on taking medicine away from the elderly and protection from the environment. This kind of values-laden talk is probably necessary for parties of the Center–Left for the foreseeable future. (Tony Blair, leader of Britain's Labour Party, does it too.)

Clinton's cultural rhetoric is now to the right of George Bush's

In addition to pulling more middle-class voters into the Democratic coalition, President Clinton also wanted to co-opt parts of American business. In some respects, ClintonCare was a failed attempt to do so: it offered major financial benefits to large manufacturers and insurers. The Administration's support for high-tech subsidies was a play for Silicon Valley. The re-orientation of American trade policy toward bilateral deals, sometimes company-specific, enabled the Administration to dispense favors to exporters at its discretion. And the ultimate logic of the "corporate responsibility" themes many Democrats are pushing is to transform American businesses into docile servants of the welfare state.

IN HIS zeal to expand his base, Clinton has not forgotten more reliable Democratic constituencies. So federal funding of labor unions has increased (and it has been made easier for them to use compulsory dues on political activity). The Violence Against Women Act has funneled money to feminist organizations, and "AIDS education" programs to the gay Left. The 1993 "stimulus" bill was a payback to big-city mayors; when it failed, much of its substance was included in the next year's crime bill. Restrictions on the politicization of the federal work force have been loosened considerably.

Clinton's sheer political talent should not be underestimated as a factor in the success of this strategy. Nor, for that matter, should the frequency and facility of his lies. He is able to call high-mindedly for bipartisan statesmanship and then, in the next breath, launch a furious attack on the motives of his opponents—who, we are to believe, *want* children to drink dirty water, eat diseased meat, and smoke. Yet Clinton is simultaneously a soothing figure. He is able to appeal to that strain of public sentiment that wants the noise and bickering from Washington to stop. His rhetoric is also appealing because it tells the voters they can have it all: a balanced budget without cutting entitlements; environmental regulation without economic costs; welfare reform without anyone suffering. He's the perfect practitioner of the politics of painlessness: for everything that's good, against everything bad. (In fairness, some Republicans, particularly of the Gingrich–Kemp brand, are prone to this as well.)

Another reason for Clintonism's success is that, as many commentators have noted, this White House focuses on its political health to an unprecedented degree. American foreign policy toward Ireland and Haiti has been driven largely by domestic political considerations. The church-burning issue was basically a whipped-up hysteria designed to persuade black voters that white racism is

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still the chief threat to their well-being. And the Administration skillfully orchestrates the appearance of a constant flurry of activity—no matter how microscopic the initiative or gesture, how inadequate the rapid response. The Administration provides motion without progress, a perpetual campaign. President Clinton hasn't declared for re-election; would anyone notice if he did?

The chief vulnerability of Clintonism is that even the boldest New Democrat cannot afford to cross some constituencies that are out of sync with the public. Clinton can't sign legal reform because of the trial lawyers. He was willing to anger organized labor over NAFTA, but he has done its bidding on striker replacement and other workplace issues; if the Democrats do well this November, they will be greatly indebted to the AFL-CIO's vigorous campaign on their behalf. And Clinton would not have dared to sign the bill banning partial-birth abortions for fear of incurring the wrath of feminists, a calculation that highlights the vacuum where Clintonism's moral core should be. But the issue that most devastatingly gives the lie to Clinton's pretensions of conservatism—his support of race and gender preferences—appears to have been dropped by his opposition.

The consolation for conservatives is that Clinton doesn't move the debate; he merely positions himself within it. In the first year of the Administration, William Kristol compared the condition of American liberalism to that of Soviet Communism in the late 1970s: both were seemingly dominant, both utterly hollow. For a time it was fashionable in conservative circles to describe health-care reform as liberalism's Afghanistan, the fatal overreach that would precipitate the empire's collapse. Yet in neither case has the old order been unequivocally defeated.

Now, writes Johnathan Sunley in the summer *National Interest*, "Communism as a dogma is dead. . . . The problem facing supposedly 'post-Communist' societies is not a revival of that ideology, but the survival of power structures that escaped the 'revolutions' of 1989 more or less unscathed." Just so with contemporary liberalism and the "revolution" of 1994. If Bill Clinton wins re-election, his legacy could be that America enters the twenty-first century shackled by the institutional residua of an ideology almost nobody any longer believes. □

Welfare Gambit

ROBERT RECTOR

THE pledge to "end welfare as we know it" was the centerpiece of Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign. Voters were blitzed with TV ads promising to put welfare recipients to work and proposing an apparent two-year time limit on receipt of benefits. But on no topic has the Clintonian chasm between word and deed been broader than on welfare.

Americans have lived through many an "end to welfare." In 1988, Congress passed the "Family Support Act," a mammoth bipartisan reform that was promised "to replace welfare with work." In reality, the bill required almost no one to work; AFDC caseloads ballooned by 30 per cent.

Nearly 90 per cent of voters still want welfare recipients to work for benefits. Their antipathy to the existing welfare system creates a real hurdle for liberal legislators seeking to preserve and expand it. Hence, even the most left-wing proposals now come well armored in conservative slogans. By the mid Eighties periodic sham reform had become welfare's life blood, assuaging public discontent while masking the growth of the system.

Initially, it seemed Clinton might break this pattern. In his first month in office, he repeated his promise to end welfare and to make recipients work. In addition, in a speech before the National Governors' Association, he promised to encourage state welfare experimentation through waivers. Critically, he proposed to "approve waivers that I did not necessarily agree with . . . the nature of the experiment is that one person has an idea different from another person."

Reality quickly began to jostle the political rhetoric. President Clinton appointed, as head of HHS, Donna Shalala, who had served with Mrs. Clinton on the board of the Children's Defense Fund, an organization that had opposed even the token reforms of 1988. Charged with implementing Mr. Clinton's key campaign pledge to end welfare, Miss Shalala gave only a single grudging sentence to the topic in her confirmation testimony. Senator Moynihan felt compelled to upbraid her for her indifference.

Conservatives willing to give Clinton the benefit of the doubt on welfare, including this author, had their illusions dispelled abruptly when the President unveiled his first budget. Work had disappeared from the agenda. Clinton had stated that the "reform" of 1988 had been well designed but had been crippled by a lack of funds for JOBS, the program that nominally enforced work requirements.

By Washington standards, JOBS was a dwarf program costing about $1 billion out of an annual welfare spending pot of $234 billion. Thus, if lack of money were really holding up reform, it would be easy to jump-start "work, not welfare," by giving it more.

But Clinton's budget didn't add one thin dime to the work program. He did propose large increases in almost every other type of welfare spending. Proposed new spending initiatives in conventional welfare programs (food stamps, housing, Head Start, etc.) amounted, over five years, to $100 billion above the already explosive growth in baseline spending. Having, on the campaign trail, trumpeted "ending welfare" and making recipients work, Clinton in office did exactly the opposite: ignoring workfare while seeking to expand traditional welfare spending.

Bolder reversals followed. The 1988 reform, pathetic though it was, included some minute work requirements squeezed in, with great effort, by conservative legislators. Avoiding undue haste, the liberal Congress decreed that these work requirements were not to take effect until 1994 (six years after passage) and would affect only some two-parent families comprising 6 per cent of the AFDC rolls. These provisions were the first and only work requirements passed into law. The Clinton Administration quietly sought to abolish them, through a change hidden deep within the vast Omnibus Budget Act. This maneuver outraged even the *New York Times*, and the attempted repeal failed.

Mr. Rector is a Senior Policy Analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

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While retreating at full speed on the work issue, President Clinton did break decisive new ground on another, unexpected front. Although he had predictably attacked Dan Quayle's Murphy Brown speech on illegitimacy, Clinton reversed course once in office. He began to speak out against rising illegitimacy, warning that the collapse of marriage

Like Nixon's trip to China, Clinton's speeches about illegitimacy permanently altered the national debate

was a root cause of crime and other social problems. On television, he acknowledged that Charles Murray was right: welfare promoted out-of-wedlock births. In his first State of the Union address, Clinton warned that society was threatened by an illegitimate birth rate that would soon hit 50 per cent.

Of course, Clinton never intended actually to do anything about illegitimacy. But, often, a President's words do count. And no President, including Ronald Reagan, had ever spoken this way against illegitimacy. Like Nixon's trip to China, Clinton's speeches about marriage and illegitimacy permanently altered the national debate. An issue which many politicians had been afraid even to mention was now raised to prominence, even urgency. For this, the country owes Bill Clinton a profound debt of thanks.

In the realm of deed rather than word, however, the Clinton Administration continued to drift left. While still arguing that more funding was the key to reform, Clinton again failed in his second budget to provide more money for workfare thus ensuring that his campaign pledge to make welfare recipients work would not even begin to take effect until 1996, if at all. Finally, in the summer of 1994, Clinton unveiled his grand welfare-reform plan. Not surprisingly, it was a parody of liberal anti-reforms parading in conservative prose. It didn't require work, and effectively prohibited states from doing so. There was no "two years and off" rule. In its place was the following provision: no one would be required to work for the first two years on welfare; among those exceeding the two-year limit, some tiny portion would be required to do community-service work but only under restrictions that would make dependency reduction impossible.

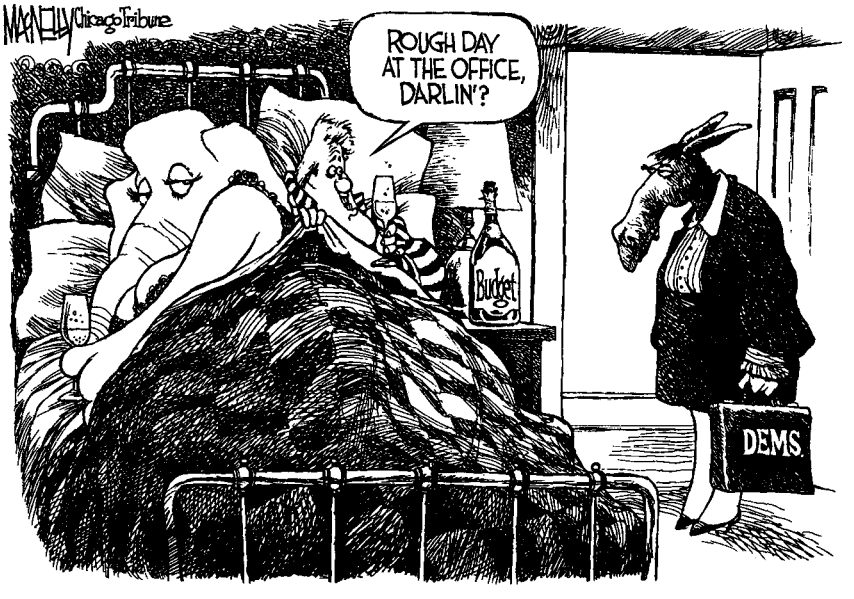
Although 70 per cent of the AFDC caseload at any given time have been on welfare for over two years, the bill required only 7 per cent of the caseload to work by 1999. These welfare recipients would work only 15 hours per week and would receive an effective wage of $15 per hour (counting all benefits). The bill allocated $4,000 in administrative overhead for each workfare participant. At many job sites, recipients doing community-service work would become members of public-sector unions. The Clinton Administration had been truthful on one point: "ending welfare as we know it" in this manner would cost a lot more than the status quo. The real costs of the proposal were discreetly hidden, off budget, in future years.

On illegitimacy, the bill proposed the status quo and triumphantly called it reform. To obtain welfare, unwed mothers under age 18 would have to live with their parents. But 90 per cent of out-of-wedlock births occur to women over 18, and most young teen mothers already live with their parents. Moreover, it is quite likely that the teen's mother had once been an unmarried welfare mother herself, and was thus more a cause of the problem than its solution.

In attempting to conceal the policy vacuum on illegitimacy the Administration's press releases made bold proclamations about abstinence and teaching young people to delay sexual activity. But the bill itself mentioned neither marriage nor abstinence; instead it offered tired liberal nostrums: condom distribution, self-esteem building, values clarification, "life skills training," etc. This was no surprise, since Donna Shalala abhorred abstinence education and had spent the prior year trying to abolish the government's single tiny abstinence program.

IN short, the 622-page "end of welfare" bill was nearly a carbon copy of the bogus reforms of 1988. It would have "ended welfare" by enlarging it.

For decades, the welfare state had rested uneasily on this sort of deception: the ability of liberal politicians to say one thing while doing another. As long as Democrats controlled Congress, Clinton could talk tough and still satisfy left-wing interest groups. Then came the 1994 election. After years of rhetorical philandering, Clinton suddenly faced a shotgun wedding with a Republican Congress eager to do the things Clinton only gabbed about. The House advanced legislation to establish work requirements and time limits, slow the automatic growth of welfare spending, reward states for cutting dependence, combat illegitimacy, and end the entitlement status of welfare. In the new political context, Clinton's bill was so liberal that Democrats never bothered to bring it to the floor of the House or Senate. Finally, the President himself disparaged his own legislation in an interview with Ben Wattenberg, a fitting end to a farce.



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Clinton was now stretched in a three-way tug of war between his own rhetoric, the liberals who controlled most of his party and Administration, and the Republican Congress. The result was incoherence and a series of policy reversals, culminating, last winter, when Clinton supported the welfare-reform bill passed in the Senate and then vetoed virtually identical legislation a few weeks later, during the night of the record blizzard. After the veto, White House operatives sought to burnish the President's image as a reformer. Clinton, they claimed, had already fulfilled his pledge to end welfare by granting waivers to reform-minded governors (mostly Republican). Again the facts were otherwise: while Clinton had specifically promised to grant waivers for ideas he did not agree with, Secretary Shalala garrisoned HHS like Stalingrad; many conservative proposals were simply rejected, others greatly curtailed.

Hillary, or Little by Little

THE health-care plan proposed by the President and Mrs. Clinton demonstrated the scope of their project for socializing a major segment of the U.S. economy. In fact, Hillary Clinton revealed her statist philosophy during a speech in Washington in 1993 when she said, "It's time to put the common good, the national interest, ahead of individuals."

The liberal agenda wasn't just to make health care more affordable and accessible, but also to seduce the middle class into allegiance to the welfare state with a sweeping new entitlement. Fortunately, as Americans learned the details of the plan—thanks to a network of fax machines, radio talk shows, the internet—the majority of them saw through it.

The Clinton plan would have created at least 200 regional alliances, staffed by more than 50,000 bureaucrats, and added more than $70 billion to the federal budget deficit (according to the Congressional Budget Office's February 1994 estimate). The whole scheme would have been enforced with a plethora of fines, penalties, and jail terms for physicians and their patients. Voters registered their displeasure at the polls in November 1994.

The defeat of ClintonCare was a famous victory—but an incomplete one. While Clinton-style health reform has receded into the shadows, no stake has been driven through its heart. During her visit to Estonia this July, the First Lady told reporters that government regulation of health care was needed and would happen eventually. Referring to the plan she had spearheaded two years earlier, she said, "I think that basic model is still the right model."

Ira Magaziner, the plan's principal architect, also yearns for vindication. This spring he told a meeting of the Hospital Association of Rhode Island that the American public still cries out for comprehensive reform, and added that President Clinton remains committed to the idea and will try again if a more receptive Congress is elected.

Having learned their lessons from the delays of the last round, liberal advocates expect to have a bill ready for speedy passage if Clinton is re-elected; their strategy is to strike before opponents have time to mount a campaign. Models currently being developed would begin with universal health coverage for all children, delivered through the structure of health-insurance purchasing cooperatives, government-defined benefits packages, and premium subsidies that characterized the original Clinton plan. The cynical calculation is that legislators would not dare vote against "KidCare," and, once the foundation was in place, liberals could construct, brick by brick, the statist structure they originally envisioned.

This scenario could be dismissed as a paranoid nightmare—except that Sen. Ted Kennedy (D., Mass.) has forthrightly claimed it as his strategy. He openly acknowledges that he views the insurance-regulation bill he is co-sponsoring with Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R., Kan.) as a down-payment on a federally controlled health-care system. Experience in several states indicates that this attempt to expand access to health insurance would drive up costs, destabilize the market for private health insurance, and leave even more Americans without health insurance, leading to more and more legislation. Which Sen. Kennedy is more than happy to provide. He says, "We're going to get this done, and we're going to keep coming back at it. . . . If we have a big sweep for Democrats in the House and Senate, we'll get single-payer."

The current liberal strategy, in short, which Clinton would continue in a second term, is to offer "security" in exchange for incremental losses of freedom, seducing the middle class step by step into dependence.

Conservatives, meanwhile, have their own incremental strategy. By offering individuals more control over their health-care costs through devices such as medical savings accounts (MSAs), they expect that market incentives will restructure the medical industry from top to bottom, and prove so popular that more and more Americans will demand the savings, efficiency, and security of owning their own health-insurance policies.

Not surprisingly, the White House and Sen. Kennedy have led the charge against MSAs. Conservatives have fought for months to include MSAs in the Kassebaum–Kennedy bill, but Democratic intransigence and Republican pusillanimity have left MSAs so bound and gagged with restrictions that many conservatives think passage of the bill would do more harm than good.

Both sides understand that, as with a great battleship, a small shift in the heading can over time lead to a vastly different destination. The competing visions of where Americans should be headed could not be more starkly opposed: in one, health care becomes a state-provided entitlement; in the other, individual freedom and responsibility allow a properly functioning health-care marketplace to evolve. The combatants can be expected to fight to the last breath—in the 1996 elections and beyond. —GRACE-MARIE ARNETT

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Each conservative waiver had to be fought out clause by clause. California and Massachusetts simply rejected the modified waivers offered them.

The flip-flops continued. In May, in an effort to upstage Bob Dole, Clinton praised Governor Tommy Thompson's new reform plans, even though Wisconsin's initiative was several light years to the right of the legislation the President had vetoed four months earlier. Within 24 hours, White House spokesman Harold Ickes had indicated that the Administration had serious reservations about the Wisconsin waiver. Then came a reversal of the reversal, and another reversal, and so forth. But the substance of the debate continued to shift rightward. In July the White House backed the Castle–Tanner bill which ended the entitlement status of AFDC and copied many features of the legislation Clinton had vetoed in January. A lid was also put on the more extreme members of the Administration eager to prove "scientifically" that ending the entitlement status of welfare would yield millions of starving kids. Press spokesman Mike McCurry admitted that such studies (which had provided justification for the earlier veto) were sometimes "a worthless exercise."

At the end of July Congress passed a softened version of last year's legislation. Critically, Congress omitted Medicaid reforms to avoid a threatened veto. The President had apparently promised liberal groups he would "save" Medicaid; having kept his promise, he may have felt more free to reform AFDC, the least popular welfare program. After a debate within the White House, the President declared he would sign the bill. Although vacillating wildly on policy, Bill Clinton the politician has always grasped one simple idea: standing, sword in hand, as the final defender of the fortress of welfare is not a route to long-term popularity. And Bill Clinton does like to be liked. □

Criminal Record

DAVID KOPEL

THE Clinton crime record is a centerpiece of the President's reelection campaign. And not surprisingly. After all, the Administration has had major legislative successes and has effectively controlled the policy debate.

Not that the victories have been cost-free. It was against the strong advice of then–Speaker Tom Foley and then–Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell that Clinton insisted on keeping the "assault-weapon" ban in the crime package. The decision may have had profound political effects. Several weeks after the 1994 elections, Clinton told the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* that "the fight for the assault-weapons ban cost 20 members their seats in Congress. . . . The NRA is the reason the Republicans control the House."

In exchange, the President won a very small policy victory indeed. The banned guns look ugly, but they fire no faster than other guns, and generally use ammunition less powerful than do ordinary hunting rifles. According to gun-seizure statistics, they are almost never used in crime. Because the ban defines "assault weapons" in terms of cosmetic factors such as whether the barrel has a bayonet lug, gun manufacturers are currently selling nearly identical firearms, minus the offending bayonet lugs.

In placing form over substance, the gun ban perfectly illustrates the whole thrust of the Administration's crime policy. The much-vaunted funding for "100,000 new cops on the street," for instance, actually provides funding for about 20,000 police and leaves localities stuck with the tab for the others. In a jurisdiction like Denver, the bill may add a half-dozen officers to a given shift—hardly enough to make a real impact on crime control.

Similarly, the Administration's recently announced plan to trace guns illegally sold to juveniles was actually a long-standing program, trotted out as "new" for election purposes. And Clinton's current pet gun-control proposal, a ban on armor-piercing ammunition, was enacted by Congress in 1986. The proposal simply plays off media attention to an inventor's pipe dream about a new type of ammunition he said he was going to create.

Which isn't to say Clinton has had no impact. No President in American history has done more to promote electronic surveillance of the American people. The Federal Government is conducting wiretaps at record levels. The overwhelming majority of conversations tapped are innocent; of the guilty ones, most involve matters such as drugs and gambling; they are almost never used for bombing cases, the ostensible justification for the new grant of authority.

NO President has been so consistently hostile to the separation between the Federal Government and the states. The Brady Act is an unfunded mandate on overburdened sheriffs and police chiefs to perform background checks on handgun buyers. Curfews, school uniforms, midnight basketball, automatically expelling students who bring guns or knives to school—whether these policies are wise or unwise is debatable, but they have no business coming from Washington, D.C.

Centralization of law enforcement undermines accountability. As former Attorney General Edwin Meese put it, "If voters are dissatisfied with their sheriff, district attorney, or local police force, they can vote the appropriate officials out of office." Federal agencies, in contrast, are several steps removed from democratic control. Local control also means fiscal responsibility: federal anti-crime spending tends to tilt heavily toward programs—such as DARE and the McGruff crime dog—that sound good on the Senate floor but are proven failures. And federal law enforcement's priorities are not on the crimes against persons and property that most concern Americans, but instead on statutory offenses: controlled substances, firearms, and the like.

To make matters of centralization worse, Louis Freeh is working to make the FBI a national police force (sending G-men to enforce child-support orders!) and indeed an international one, as it sets up overseas offices and develops close working relationships with the KGB's successor.

In terms of demagogy, Clinton's performance on crime issues is exceptional. After the Oklahoma City bombing, the Administration began pushing a list of greatly expanded powers for federal law-enforcement agencies—despite the

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fact that not one provision in the bill could even arguably have prevented the bombing. Thanks to the Administration's "anti-terrorism" initiative, the Federal Government can now, without any need to show probable cause, order credit bureaus to disclose parts of consumer credit records, wiretap radio modem communications, and deport or imprison aliens on the basis of secret evidence. Clinton's original proposal was even worse: it would have greatly expanded the definition of "terrorism," eviscerated restraints on use of the military in domestic law enforcement, and abolished requirements that federal law-enforcement agencies act only within their jurisdiction.

There is no reason to doubt that a second Clinton Administration would follow a crime policy much like the first: to go as far as politically possible in using crime control as a pretext for constricting privacy and increasing the power of the Federal Government. These policies will not reduce street crime, and they will leave Americans much more vulnerable to the types of crime our Founders most feared: the depredations of a lawless Federal Government. □

Redeeming the Race Card

TERRY EASTLAND

AS a youth Bill Clinton rejected the segregation of his native South and embraced the series of federal laws that outlawed racial discrimination in public accommodations, education, employment, and voting. Clinton believed that racial discrimination was morally wrong, but his view was not simply a product of reason. To put the President's own hackneyed phrase to perhaps its best use, he "felt the pain" of segregation. Thus, while not a civil-rights activist, organizing and demonstrating, Clinton became a race healer. He made a point of associating with blacks, and continued to do so even when black separatism started gaining strength.

At the Yale Law School, according to David Maraniss's biography, *First in His Class*, a table in the cafeteria that black law students (including Lani Guinier) claimed as their own sometimes had a white visitor—Bill Clinton. One reason so few whites sat at this "black table of solidarity" is that they didn't know how to "enter that world." Maraniss reports that while at first some blacks stared at Clinton "as though he was an unwanted interloper," he soon won them over through his willingness to "talk about whatever the black students were talking about, or tell his own tales about life in Arkansas, or joke about how he had not gone to class or read any of his law books."

Clinton continued this winning way. As a young law professor at the University of Arkansas, Clinton, writes Maraniss, "quickly became the friend and champion" of black students. His "relaxed style" was a comfort to blacks in the classroom, and outside it Clinton went the extra mile by tutoring them. The black students nicknamed Clinton "Wonder Boy." Said one, "It was a miracle the way he was."

It has proved a miracle relevant to Clinton's political career. He has always been more than the ordinary Democrat who by virtue of being a Democrat gets most of the "black vote." He has indeed been the Wonder Boy, a white figure who enjoys exceptional black trust. As a result, Clinton has been positioned to do extraordinary things. And since 1992, when he burst onto the national stage, he sometimes has done them.

In June of that year, Clinton repudiated rap singer Sister Souljah for her comment, in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, that "if black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people? . . . why not kill a white person?" Clinton said these remarks were "filled with hatred" and that "if you took the words 'white' and 'black' and reversed them, you might think David Duke was giving that speech." Sister Souljah's remarks, Clinton added, contributed to a noxious political environment "of pointing the finger at one another across racial lines." There was a strategic calculation in what Clinton did: seeking to demonstrate his willingness to challenge core Democratic constituency groups, the candidate made his comments about Sister Souljah in a speech to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. But his criticism of her also served to define his "new covenant" message in a way consistent with the best principles in American life. Thus, the new covenant was not merely a statement that "we (whatever color we are) are all in this together," as Clinton said elsewhere in 1992, but also a recognition that, all of us being together, there's no place among us for racism of any variety, white or black. Though Jackson defended Sister Souljah against Clinton, many black leaders, including some who had backed presidential runs by Jackson, said Clinton was right to say what he did.

In late 1993, Clinton gave a speech in Memphis to black pastors. The speech was remarkable for its focus on the cultural problems afflicting black communities—a taboo subject for white politicians. Clinton was so confident that he could handle this subject and still retain the approval of blacks that he even dared to imagine what Martin Luther King might be saying today—namely, that "I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it. I did not live and die to see young people destroy

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their own lives with drugs and then build fortunes destroying the lives of others . . . I fought for freedom but not for the freedom of people to kill each other with reckless abandonment, not for the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children to walk away from them and abandon them, as if they don't amount to anything. . . . I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandonment." Clinton preached to the preachers that "It is our moral duty to turn [this state of affairs] around," adding, "We have to make our people whole again."

THE use of the first-person plurals, "our" and "we," made Clinton at one with his audience and the families they minister to. It was a dramatic demonstration of his solidarity with blacks. And it is this solidarity that has freed Clinton to endorse welfare reform, a project that could hit poor blacks harder than any other group. With the legislation of welfare reform, Clinton has now performed the Democratic equivalent of Richard Nixon's going to China.

There is not a chance, however, that Clinton will do the same with affirmative action. This, of course, was the great hope of New (and some old) Democrats. Early in 1993, the distinguished historian C. Vann Woodward wrote that Clinton "rejects . . . racial preference" and "makes no separate case for the rights of racial minorities." Those have proved words to be eaten. Through 1994, the Clinton Administration was unable to find a racial preference it could not support, whether as a matter of policy or law, and in litigation (notably in the *Adarand* case and in voting-rights cases) it supported doctrine in effect making a separate case for the rights of minorities. But for the 1994 election results, which put affirmative action in the political dock, Clinton would not have felt compelled to review a single federal program containing preferences. Not that the Administration has greatly diverged from the left-lying affirmative action path it was on, although the press continues to report that Clinton has steered "a middle course" on affirmative action.

In his July 19, 1995, speech announcing the results of the Administration's review of affirmative action—a speech given at the National Archives to an audience made up largely of civil-rights activists—Clinton, wishing to ensure Jesse Jackson would not burden him with a primary challenge, announced his intention to "mend, not end" affirmative action. While the statement could be construed as a sign of progress—to say that affirmative action needs "mending" is a concession that at least something about it is wrong—there has over the past year been very little mending of affirmative action, and the only ending of an actual preferential device (two, by my count, have bit the dust) has occurred as a result of litigation. (See "Don't Mend It, Defend It," below.)

In practice, "mending" affirmative action has entailed the nurturing of a politics that, as the Democratic Leadership Council recognized in a statement critical of Clinton's policy conclusions, "divides Americans most dramatically along racial lines," making it "more rather than less difficult to transcend racial difference." According to Administration policy, found in policy papers, legal memos, and court filings, minorities need affirmative action, on the one hand, because non-minorities discriminate against them on account of race and, on the other, because their race and ethnicity are in themselves valuable commodities, providing "diversity." Clinton's affirmative-action Presidency has left him unable to say with moral clarity why Louis Farrakhan, who has ascended into a position of black national leadership during the past four years, is wrong on matters of race.

Notwithstanding his 1992 admonition against pointing fingers across racial lines, Clinton has not been above doing that himself. In late 1993, campaigning in New York City for incumbent Mayor David Dinkins, he accused whites of being unwilling to vote for someone different from them, even though many whites had voted for Dinkins in 1989; in effect, he accused whites of racism. Two months ago, in a speech suggesting (against known evidence) that the black-church burnings were "fires of [racial] hatred," Clinton warned against the raising of "divisive" issues during this election year. "Every time you hear somebody use race or religion as an instrument of division and hatred, speak up against it." Subtly but unmistakably, Clinton suggested that anyone who questions affirmative action is using "race as an instrument of division"—is a racist, in sum, no different from those who burn black churches. Republican timidity on the matter suggests that this effort to intimidate is succeeding.

Clinton preached to the preachers that 'It is our moral duty . . . to make our people whole again'

On welfare Clinton may now be able to call himself a New Democrat. But on race he cannot say that. Instead, he has been aiding and abetting a politics of victimization and racial identity that threatens individual rights, denies the equal protection of the law, and divides the races. Wonder Boy, indeed. □

Don't Mend It, Defend It

ABIGAIL THERNSTROM

ON July 19, 1995, Bill Clinton gave one of the most-watched speeches of his Presidency. With a live television audience tuned in from around the country, he pledged to maintain affirmative-action programs. But he also promised to reform those programs that did not meet the constitutional test laid out by the Supreme Court just a month earlier, in *Adarand Constructors* v. *Peña*. "Mend it, don't end it," the President said of affirmative action.

"Defend it" would have been a more forthright description of the Administration's response. As Deval Patrick,

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the assistant attorney general for civil rights, put it: "It is important for us all not to be intimidated by *Adarand*. We have to take *Adarand* on."

What the Supreme Court did in *Adarand* was to extend to federal programs its demand that race-based action meet the demanding test of narrow tailoring to serve a compelling state interest.

'We have to outsmart the Republicans,' Clinton declared. And now his task included outsmarting the Supreme Court

Such programs would henceforth be subject to "strict scrutiny," the highest level of judicial review.

Within three weeks of this decision the Administration had launched an all-out offensive to limit the Court-inflicted damage on its program of racial preferences. The first step was a June 28 Justice Department memo, written by Assistant Attorney General Walter Dellinger and intended to provide "preliminary legal guidance" to the general counsels of the executive agencies. The Dellinger memo was followed by a long-delayed White House review of federal affirmative-action programs that the President had ordered in February; written by Christopher Edley Jr. (special counsel to the President) and George Stephanopoulos, it promised "a candid and balanced description" of these programs, as well as a set of policy recommendations.

The Edley report was released the same day the President gave his "Mend it, don't end it" speech. Two months later, Deval Patrick testified before a House subcommittee on the proposed Equal Opportunity Act (the Dole–Canady bill), which had been introduced on the heels of the Edley review. And then on February 19, 1996, Associate Attorney General John R. Schmidt issued a directive spelling out the implications of *Adarand* for federal employment. That memo was supplemented by still another on May 22 entitled "Proposed Reforms to Affirmative Action in Federal Procurement."

The Administration had been hard at work. This was a fight from which the President could not run, he had said in a closed-door get-together with House Democrats on February 22, 1995. "We have to outsmart the Republicans," he had declared—and once five Supreme Court Justices had at least partially tied his hands with the *Adarand* ruling, his task included outsmarting the Court.

Only in retrospect was the Dellinger memo a hint of things to come; at the time, it read like a legitimate attempt to put the best face possible on *Adarand*, emphasizing the limits of the ruling and urging no precipitous action. But Dellinger's quick read of the decision was the Administration's last careful and lawyerly analysis. The Edley report, less than a month later, basically ignored the Supreme Court's holding. A brief on behalf of every federal affirmative-action program (the authors did not recommend eliminating a single one), it put the Administration on record as intending to carry bravely on.

As Edley and Stephanopoulos described them, these programs were above legal, political, or ethical reproach; the Court's concerns in *Adarand* and related decisions were thus woefully off base. The plurality in the Supreme Court's 1989 *Richmond* v. *Croson* decision had warned of the danger of "stigmatic harm" and "racial hostility." Edley and Stephanopoulos spoke of policies that simply offered "every American a fair chance to achieve success." They were a needed tool "to move us away from a world of lingering biases . . . toward one in which opportunity is equal." The voice of these White House aides was, of course, precisely that of the President's. "Affirmative action has been good for America," he said in his July 19 speech. "When . . . done right, it is flexible, it is fair, and it works."

The Clinton Administration clearly has had a mission: saving the whole panoply of racial preferences that pervades government employment and contracting. That was fully apparent in the Schmidt memos.

In the first of these memos, *Adarand* and related decisions are treated as minor annoyances—roadblocks that require a bit of ingenuity to get around. Schmidt concludes: "nothing in *Adarand* requires a retreat." What the decision demanded was "a demonstrable factual predicate" for an agency's race-conscious actions. Those actions could be justified by statistical evidence indicating minority underrepresentation (a "lingering effect" of historic discrimination) or perhaps by "an agency's operational need for a diverse workforce." It encouraged agencies to increase minority participation through race-neutral means, but said that if these failed, then race-conscious means were acceptable.

SOME background is needed to understand Schmidt's second memo, which is actually the more interesting of the two. In 1994, Congress had enacted the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act (FASA), which constituted a bipartisan effort to streamline federal purchases of goods and services, ranging from construction to paper clips. Included was a government-wide extension of two tools that had previously been available only to the Defense Department—namely, the so-called "rule of two" and a bidding preference. The "rule of two" allowed the Pentagon to remove a contract from competitive bidding any time there were at least two minority businesses eager to do the work. The bidding preference allowed the Pentagon to award a contract to a minority-owned company as long as the cost was no more than 10 per cent above that of the lowest bidder.

FASA could not take effect until final implementing regulations were issued—a process complicated by *Adarand*. Schmidt's second memo offered a "model" for these regulations.

Once again, the Clinton Administration made clear its commitment to the entire edifice of federal race-conscious programs. The title promised "Proposed Reforms." And yet Schmidt himself said his starting "premise" was "a need for affirmative action in procurement," and George Stephanopoulos agreed that "we want to do everything we can to promote minority contracting." Moreover, the memo's stated aim was to create "a structure for race-conscious procurement . . . in a manner that will survive constitutional scrutiny."

The entire report, in fact, can be read as an exercise in deception. The government had an indisputably compelling interest (a Fourteenth Amendment demand) in "affirmative remedial efforts," the memo stated at the outset. Discrimination is a given, remedies thus a

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necessity—remedies that are "affirmative." The only issue was whether they were sufficiently "narrowly tailored" to meet the second half of the constitutional standard.

The question of narrow tailoring was thus the memo's focus. And to that end, Schmidt proposed several alleged "reforms." For instance, white firms should be able, with slightly more ease, to prove their eligibility for participation in programs that give small, disadvantaged businesses a break. On its face, a limited but good suggestion; a month earlier, however, the assistant attorney general for civil rights had (with refreshing candor) admitted he was "not convinced that means anything in practical terms."

Likewise, the memo suggested that the usual goals and timetables should be replaced by "benchmarks" that would establish the appropriate level of minority contracting in each industry. There would be no fixed, permanent 10 per cent goal for highway construction, in other words. But the benchmarks would be set by determining "the level of minority contracting that one would reasonably expect to find in a market absent discrimination or its effects." In other words, by figuring out how many minority businesses would get what sort of contracts had history been different—had discrimination never occurred.

There were two problems with this proposal. The first was the fact that such allegedly exact calculations were the stuff of pseudo-scientific dreams. The second problem was Schmidt's assumption that a paucity of minority firms in a particular sector of the economy always indicated discrimination or its "lingering effects." Together they meant that procurement officers would continue to set goals (in effect quotas) that seemed "fair." And to meet those goals, as the memo acknowledged, the government could continue to use such race-conscious mechanisms as bidding credits and bonus points for prime contractors who used minority subcontractors for part of the work. There was more, none of which changed the bottom line: *Adarand*, as the Justice Department had interpreted it, had been a waste of the Supreme Court's breath.

Times have changed. Preferences cannot survive the court of public opinion. Raw racial exclusion has almost disappeared, and the majority of Americans have never, in any case, viewed discrimination as the remedy for discrimination.

Federal set-aside programs and federal coercion to ensure the use of minority-owned firms have never been more vulnerable. And yet the Clinton Justice Department is still intent on keeping them safe and sound. Unless the public wakes up to the Administration's unabashed defense of racial preferences, four more years of President Clinton are likely to mean four more years in which such preferences remain alive and very well. □

Anti-Americanization

JOHN FONTE

AT THE beginning of the twentieth century, large numbers of immigrants from ethnic groups relatively new to the American melting pot entered the United States. American Presidents, Republicans and Democrats alike, agreed on two basic goals: teach the newcomers English and make them Americans. The clear aim was to strengthen our national identity—to reinforce the *unum* in *E pluribus unum*—by assimilating the new arrivals into American civilization.

As the twentieth century nears its end, large numbers of immigrants from ethnic groups relatively new to the American melting pot are, once again, entering the United States. Today, however, the American President, William Jefferson Clinton, promotes policies that are directly opposed to the strategies advocated by Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson. Instead of promoting Americanization and emphasizing the learning of English, the current occupant of the White House favors policies to weaken our national identity—de facto anti-assimilation measures, anti-English-language initiatives, and an indifference to substantive citizenship training.

President Clinton and Education Secretary Riley tell us that their goal in supporting bi-lingual education is "transitional." Schools should teach basic subjects in the children's "primary language," so that they do not fall behind

in math, science, history, and the like while they are learning English. Education professionals, however—the people who actually run the schools—strongly emphasize "cultural preservation." Thus the Los Angeles Unified School District advises teachers "not to encourage language-minority" parents to speak English at home, but instead "to encourage them to strongly promote development of the primary (non-English) language" in their children. Current law buttresses the bi-lingual establishment by requiring that 75 per cent of all programs for newcomers be taught in the student's native language. This is at odds with proven principles of learning a second language, which is best done by writing and speaking it as much as possible, not simply by attending a one-hour class five days a week.

Even measured by its own criteria, bilingual education is a failure. It neither teaches English well, nor keeps students from falling behind in other subjects. A recent and comprehensive evaluation reported in the major research journal sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English found that "there is no body of research evidence to support

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the notion that non-English-speaking children will read, write, and do academic work in English better if they learn to read, write, and do academic work in their home language first."

The dismal failure of bi-lingual education to teach children English has led to open revolts by Hispanic parents in New York, California, New Jersey, and Nebraska. In the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, 150 Latino parents organized to fight for English instruction for their children. Sister Kathy Maire, a Roman Catholic nun working with the parents, stated: "The bottom line is these kids are being robbed of their futures." In Los Angeles some 100 Hispanic parents pulled their children out of a local school to protest bi-lingual education. Indeed, a U.S. Department of Education survey of Mexican- and Cuban-American parents revealed that four-fifths opposed teaching their children in Spanish, if this meant that less time would be devoted to English. Unfortunately, the education bureaucracy has a vested interest in keeping children in bi-lingual programs, because as the students "transition out" of native-language instruction, the schools lose government funds.

Bi-lingual education under Clinton may include inventing what are essentially new written languages

In this fight the Clinton Administration has from the beginning stood on the side of the bi-lingual establishment. Even before he was elected President, Bill Clinton, in an article in *Phi Delta Kappan* (October 1992), blasted the Bush Administration for not spending enough money on bi-lingual education. Once in power the Clintonites have not simply advocated more money for existing bi-lingual programs; they have expanded multi-lingual education. For example, the Administration's major education bill, the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, authorized federal funds to develop written grammars for previously oral American Indian and Native Alaskan languages. Thus instead of merely "preserving" primary languages, bi-lingual education under Clinton may include inventing what are essentially new written languages.

For the first time, the congressionally mandated National Assessment for Educational Progress (NAEP), the "Nation's Report Card," will be given in Spanish as well as in English. Deputy Education Secretary Madelein Kunin sent a memorandum to the civil servant in charge of the tests stating that "excluding" children whose English is limited violated the Civil Rights Act and ordering that these students be accommodated by providing them with Spanish versions of the math and science tests. The irony in giving the tests for the "Nation's Report Card" to American students in a language other than English appears to have gone unnoticed by either the Clinton Administration or the Republican Congress, which has remained mute on this issue. As Jorge Amselle of the Center for Equal Opportunity put it, "If [the students] ace a history test in Spanish and flunk it in English, it's not going to do them any good when they go to get a job."

Although Bill Clinton signed an official-English bill when he was governor of Arkansas, the Clinton Administration has opposed efforts by Republicans and by moderate and conservative Democrats in the 104th Congress to declare English the official language of the United States. The Administration also opposes congressional efforts to stop requiring states to provide ballots in other languages as discrimination against Americans who don't speak English.

Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, in a brilliant new book, *Americans No More: The Death of Citizenship* (to be published by Atlantic Monthly Press next month), chronicles in painful detail the steady diminution of naturalization—the once meaningful process of immigrants' becoming American citizens. While the "dumbing down" of citizenship did not begin on January 20, 1993, it has clearly accelerated under the Clinton Administration. In December 1995 the Administration expanded the use of foreign languages on citizenship tests; four hundred new centers give the test in Spanish. Plans are under way to offer tests in Korean, Vietnamese, and Tagalog.

THE attitude toward the importance of English for American citizenship is reflected in the comments of Jess Nieto, a director of one of the "community organizations" authorized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to give citizenship tests. Nieto declared, "Many of these people [resident aliens applying for citizenship] have been here a million years. Why should they have to take the test in English?"

The citizenship tests themselves have been stripped of much of the rich historical, civic, and patriotic content that once made studying for and passing the test a truly gratifying experience in the life of a new American citizen. Even the dignified and moving court ceremony for swearing in new immigrants is no longer mandatory. Besides the INS, over eight hundred organizations are now eligible to give citizenship tests. Leftist advocacy groups such as the Asy-

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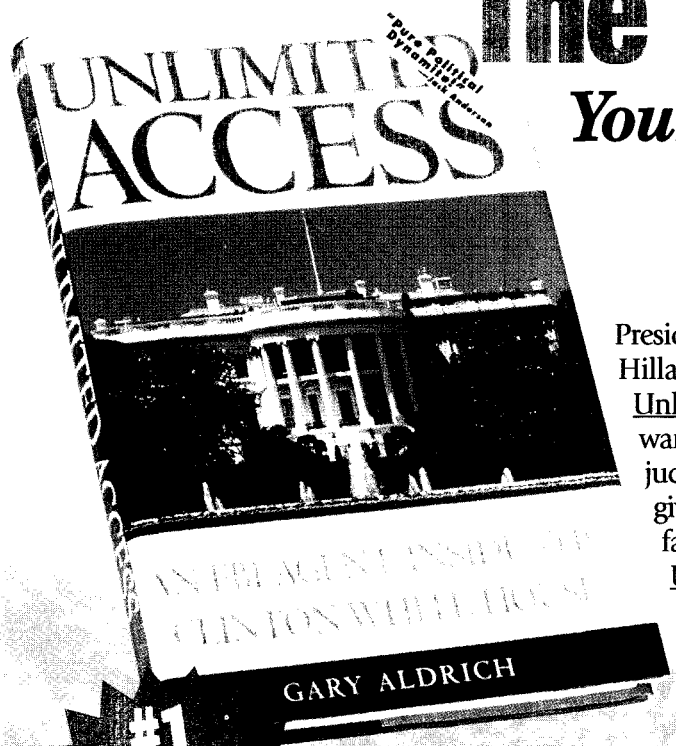
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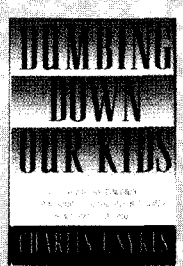

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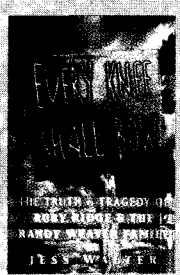

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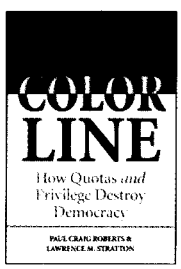

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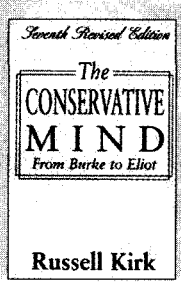

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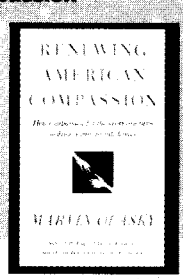

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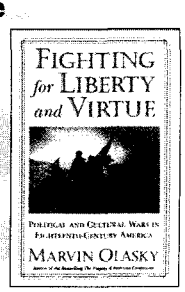

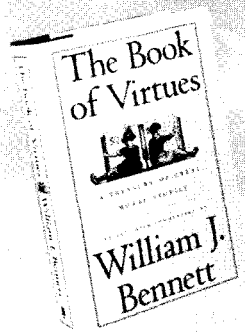

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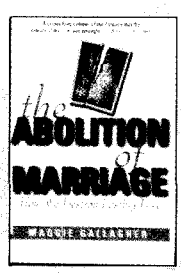

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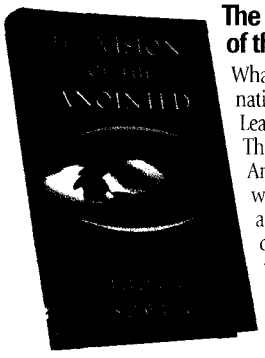

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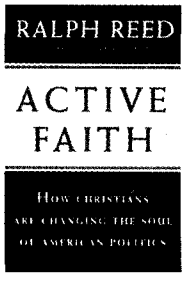

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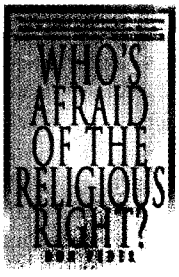

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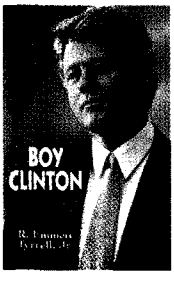

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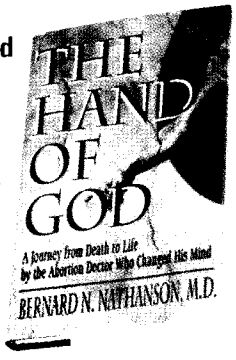

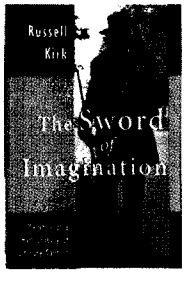

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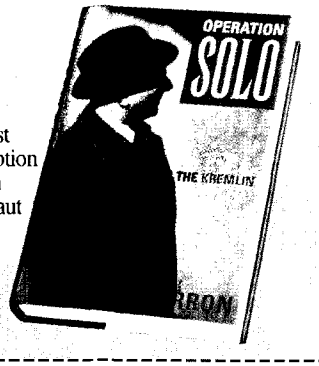

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lum and Refugee Rights Project, Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under the Law, and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund are working closely with the INS. Ironically, activist lawyers who spend their working hours litigating against any legal distinctions between citizens and non-citizens are often running the official process that makes resident aliens American citizens. Even the Heritage of Aztlan Educational and Cultural Foundation—a group which romanticizes irredentist Mexican claims to the "lost territories" of the Southwestern United States—is busy giving tests in American history and civics to candidates for American citizenship.

MEANWHILE, the Clinton Administration has begun a project of instant mass naturalization, Citizenship USA. Hundreds of federal workers from other agencies have been detailed to the INS to process citizenship applications. In one case in California, special personnel worked from dawn to dusk for two months and naturalized sixty thousand resident aliens. According to an article by Ruth Larson in the *Washington Times*, a career INS official stated that a White House staffer admitted to him, "Quite frankly, it's 250,000 registered voters who are likely to vote Democratic."

Attitudes about citizenship and American identity are revealed in the words and actions of Clinton appointees. For example, Eugene Garcia, Clinton's bi-lingual-education chief from 1993 to 1995, told a conference of bi-lingual educators, "The border for many is nonexistent. For me, for intellectual reasons, that border shall be nonexistent." INS Commissioner Doris Meissner has suggested that the inspiring Oath of Allegiance, in which new citizens promise to "absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, . . . support and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; . . . bear arms on behalf of the United States; . . . take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: so help me God," is "anachronistic" and should be changed.

One of Mrs. Meissner's top political appointees, Executive Associate Commissioner Robert Bach, was the principal author of a Ford Foundation report on immigrant communities in 1993. Bach recommended that non-citizens be permitted, indeed "encouraged," to vote in city and school-board elections. In fact, the terms "citizen" and "citizenship" are rarely mentioned in the report; instead Bach uses the term "established resident." He is critical of assimilation, suggests that too much "homogeneity" may be "the problem in America," and emphasizes that long-established residents should "accommodate" the newcomers with multi-lingualism instead of assimilating them into mainstream society. Another of Mrs. Meissner's chief lieutenants, Alexander Alienikoff, has, according to Georgie Anne Geyer, "argued constantly that it was time no longer to distinguish or differentiate between citizens and legal aliens."

The Clinton Administration has unleashed the coercive power of federal agencies against opponents of its anti-assimilation and multi-lingual policies. Thus on February 24, 1995, after the city council of Allentown, Pennsylvania, voted 6 to 1 to declare English the official language of their city, the city clerk received a call from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) warning him that Allentown could lose federal funds if the city council did not repeal the ordinance. A Clinton appointee, Assistant Secretary Roberta Achtenberg, launched an investigation and suggested that the city's ordinance might violate Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Twenty-three Congressmen sent a letter to HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros demanding an explanation. Finally, after the city government promised not to implement the ordinance, the inquiry was canceled.

IN August 1995, the chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Clinton appointee Mary Frances Berry, subpoenaed members of the Florida-187 Committee to appear before a Commission hearing on "racism." Mrs. Berry demanded that the group—which supports a Florida initiative patterned after California's attempt to deny most public benefits to illegal aliens—turn over all its computer printouts, reports, policy studies, memoranda, and internal documents. JoAnn Peart, a housewife from Delray Beach, one of the individuals subpoenaed, contacted Republican Congressman Mark Foley, who asked the Subcommittee on the Constitution to hold oversight hearings on the Civil Rights Commission's action. A group of Republican congressmen sent a letter to President Clinton stating that the Commission's action was a "clear violation" of citizens' "right to engage in political activities without being intimidated or harassed by a government entity." Shortly after this uproar Mary Frances Berry withdrew the subpoenas.

For the past several decades Americans have had a continuing argument over two visions of the future, an argument that will determine the fate of our national identity. Do we promote English or multi-lingualism? Do we strengthen American citizenship or do we diminish it? Should we be a multi-ethnic nation or a multi-cultural one? A

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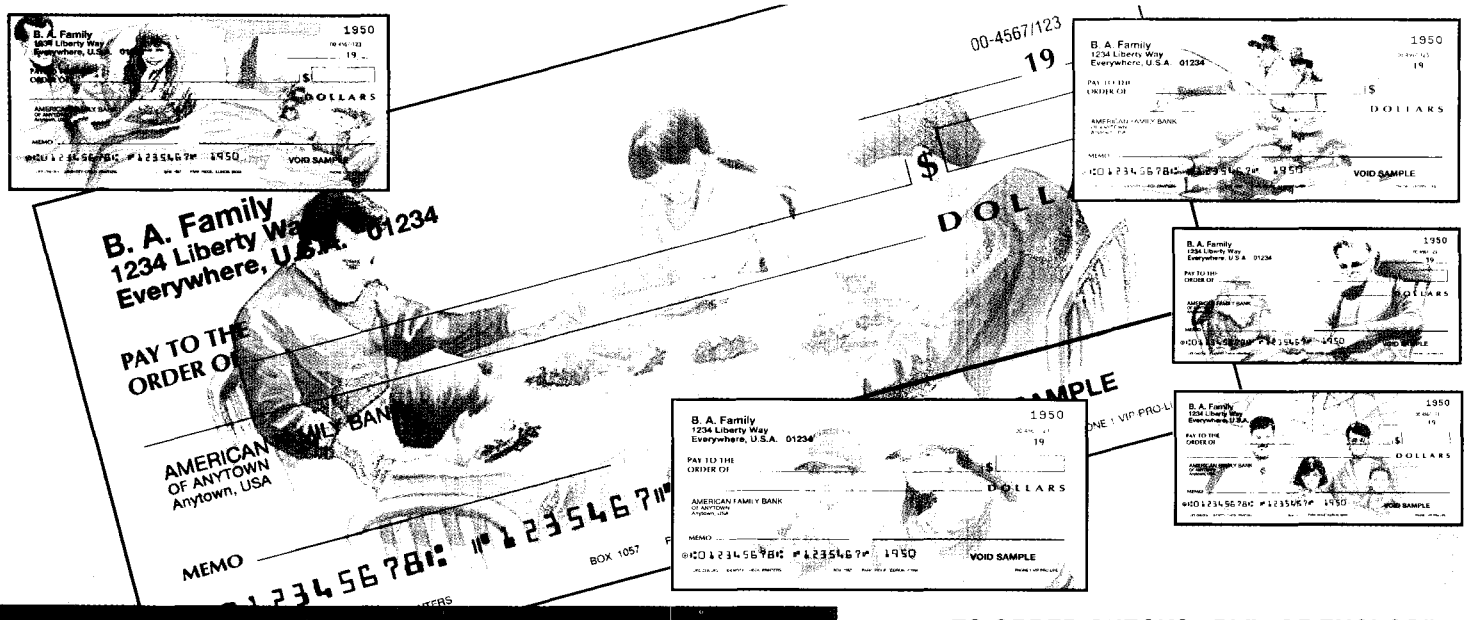

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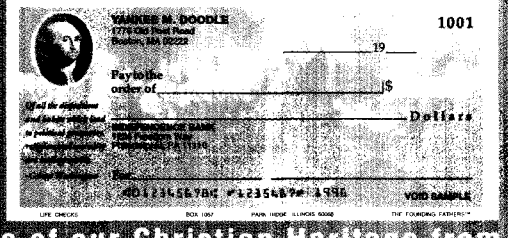

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multi-ethnic nation means an America composed of individual citizens belonging to racial and ethnic groups from all over the world. On the other hand, a multi-cultural nation emphasizes group identity, not individual citizenship. It establishes different legal and language "rights" for different racial and ethnic groups, rejects assimilation, and erases distinctions between citizens and non-citizens.

There is no doubt that the Clinton Administration has joined the battle on the side of multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism. The words and deeds of Clintonites Achtenberg, Aleinikoff, Bach, Berry, Cisneros, Garcia, Kunin, and Meissner are clear and consistent: expand official multi-lingualism wherever possible; water down the substantive meaning of citizenship; blur distinctions between citizens and non-citizens; advocate voting by non-citizens; and use Federal Government power to harass opponents of these policies.

Recently, Congress has started to challenge the Administration. House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston (R., La.) succeeded in cutting bi-lingual education. Congressmen Toby Roth (R., Wisc.), Randy Cunningham (R., Calif.), and John Porter (R., Ill.) and Senator Richard Shelby (R., Ala.) have introduced legislation strengthening the use of English. On August 1, a bill making English the official language of the U.S. and allowing states to eliminate multilingual ballots passed the House. Despite these efforts, the multi-lingual/multi-cultural infrastructure will remain intact. For example, Congressman Roth's initiative to eliminate bi-lingual education is stalled in the House, and the Senate will almost certainly restore multi-lingual ballots when it votes on "official English" in September. If the bill passes, a veto is expected. Most importantly, a serious and sustained intellectual and moral argument against the continuing assault on American national identity has not yet been heard. In the final analysis, the struggle between multi-ethnic America and multi-cultural America will be won by the side that is able to articulate an intellectual and moral argument that resonates with the American people.

The Clinton Administration and their multi-lingualist allies have not made a compelling case for their radical new vision of America, but they have largely succeeded in scaring off and intimidating potential opposition. Their strategy is name calling—denounce opponents of official multi-lingualism as "mean-spirited," "racists," and "bigots." Thus the American Civil Liberties Union characterizes opposition to official multi-lingualism in terms of "hate mongering" and "fostering bigotry and intolerance."

No wonder opponents of official multi-lingualism have been hesitant to make this a major issue, knowing they will be vilified as "racists" and "bigots." My guess, however, is that the great silent majority of Americans from all ethnic and racial backgrounds is waiting—indeed hungering—to hear the voice of multi-ethnic America challenge the multi-lingual/multi-cultural forces and dislodge them from the moral high ground.

This voice of multi-ethnic America

Re-Americanization

IS THIS country to remain the United States of America, pursuing the course of success as charted by the Founders, or are we resigned to watch a different type of country emerge in its place? That is the question Bob Dole should be asking his fellow citizens.

The spectacle of someone like me, an immigrant, who is also a recent arrival on the political scene, offering advice to America's senior professional politician is one of concern to me. No doubt, after nearly fifty years as a professional pianist, I would be startled if someone who apparently began lessons just a few years ago proposed a different way of playing. But then, my "lessons" in politics began at the age of eight, when German troops occupied Budapest.

It is, thus, of even greater concern to me that the Dole campaign—the means by which to forestall the alteration-beyond-recognition of this miracle called America—appears glued to the bottom of a hole in the ground. The other side continues to set the agenda; we remain on the defensive.

It is in this moment of despair that I request your attention, Senator Dole. One might think: A look at you, a look at the alternative would be sufficient to get you about 85 per cent of the popular vote. Alas, it is not sufficient. What the campaign needs is a different perspective. The time for traditional strategies which secure the Irish vote, the Jewish vote, the union vote, the senior-citizen vote, the black vote, the Southern vote, the women's vote, has passed. The time has come to seek the *American* vote.

Notwithstanding thirty years of concerted effort by the other side to subdivide us into irreconcilable groups, most of us still believe that we are, first and last, Americans.

It is easy to overlook the simple and obvious, precisely because you, Senator Dole, "hold these truths to be self-evident." But people in Seattle and San Francisco, in San Antonio and Fort Myers, in Topeka, New London, St. Joseph—even in Washington, D.C.—would love to be reminded by you that this nation was founded on a set of principles which reflect the most thoughtful deliberation on the human condition ever undertaken. Talk to them about the thousands of years it had taken to establish equality before the law for every individual, now threatened by the ever-increasing demand for group rights; they need to realize that *group rights signal the end of individual rights.* Explain that one cannot "almost" guarantee private property, that its sanctity is the cornerstone of all civilization. They know the strength of your sentiments about judges who legislate from the bench; add to this the reminder that separation of powers—not permitting the same people to make, interpret, and enforce the law—is the fragile membrane protecting us from dictatorship. You might add, too, that you agree with the Founders, who envisioned no role in education for the Federal Government but who most certainly charged it with responsibility for the common defense.

Americans would love to hear you say that you will move to dismantle those regulatory and judicial straitjackets which are choking tolerance and voluntarism. Above all, reassure them that people who say "In God we trust" are

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would tell us: We the People of the United States, a self-governing and free people, have a moral right to transmit our way of life and our national heritage to future generations of Americans. Fluency in English is essential for full participation in our society. To tell newcomers to America otherwise is to lie to them. To be an American citizen is a privilege, not a right. To cheapen citizenship and blur the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens is to mock the sacrifices that have sustained our nation for more than two hundred years. If we don't take citizenship seriously we don't take our constitutional democracy seriously.

Therefore, we should establish English as our official language, eliminate bi-lingual education and multi-lingual ballots, and end the corruption of our naturalization process. Moreover, as people on both sides of the immigration debate—including Linda Chavez, John Miller, Dan Stein, and the late Barbara Jordan—have suggested, it is time to launch a new civic integration effort, similar to the Americanization initiatives earlier this century. Nothing could be more welcoming and inclusive than fostering English and teaching the responsibilities of citizenship to newcomers. Those of us whose parents or grandparents came through Ellis Island at the turn of the century are particularly grateful that Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson advocated Americanization, instead of multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism.

Opposition to official multi-lingualism does not mean that Americans should not learn foreign languages, or that we are not free to speak whatever language we want, or that languages other than English cannot be used in places such as courts and hospitals. It does not mean "English only." It means that English should be the *official* language of *public* business in our liberal democracy.

Yes, as with people everywhere, there is bigotry among us. However, the genius of America is that we have worked to overcome unfair discrimination and irrational prejudice. To make the learning of English a priority and to strengthen the substance of citizenship does not mean we are "racists" and "bigots"—it means that we take our national heritage and our democracy seriously.

It is the advocates of bi-lingual education who have prevented Latino kids from advancing. It is a patronizing establishment that is stealing their keys to the American dream.

The position advanced by the multicultural establishment amounts to a bluff. It is at odds with the feelings and instincts both of the American majority and of the minorities that these policies are allegedly designed to help. What is needed is an open discussion of the facts and values in question. Once that happens, the bluff will be called and the great American public will demand that we end official multi-lingualism, eliminate bi-lingual education and foreign language ballots, take naturalization seriously, and, in the spirit of Teddy Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson, launch a new campaign for Americanization and civic integration. □

echoing, not violating, the Founders' intent.

The language the Founders spoke was English; their deeply held beliefs came from the Old and New Testaments. Yet they benefited not only those whom the Founders represented but, in uncommon measure, those who arrived later, speaking different languages and desiring the freedom to live by their different beliefs. Above all, they bestowed upon their posterity the incomparable blessings of a polity in which the peaceful transition of power is the norm.

The other side will point to its standardized list of grievances aimed at the Founders. You might remind them that the founding principles were but a road map to guide us toward an ever-improving future. The map was based largely on the English legacy, which—like all others—was stained with blood. But unlike all others, it was from the start striving for a justice which cannot be bought or sold; for freedom on the high seas and in people's minds; for decency in human conduct and for honorable compromise in place of strife. We ought to continue speaking the language of this legacy. English has given us the word *fairness*. No other language has yet come up with even a translation of this word.

Americans may know, but will be glad to hear you say, where your ideas have originated. This would also create an opportunity to discuss where the other side obtained its. By "other side" I do not mean true Democrats: indeed, many of *them* might seize the moment to reaffirm their American foundations. No: I refer to those whose ideas clearly derive from the opposing doctrine.

This doctrine has worn many labels—Fascism, Bolshevism, National Socialism, Communism, Trotskyism, Social Democracy, Maoism, and present-day so-called Liberalism—but all stand for some variation of socialist philosophy. The practices were developed in the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin School for Behavior Control, priding itself in such stellar graduates as Hitler and Stalin.

Nothing even remotely comparable in violence is contemplated by latter-day disciples: the current approach is low-key, sophisticated. Your recent encounter with tobacco, Senator, was a measure of its success. Tobacco, of course, has long been selected for an experiment in incremental behavior control. The process begins with an eminently reasonable suggestion, such as setting aside a few tables in restaurants, a few rows in airplanes. No one could possibly object. Semi-scientific "evidence" follows and selective name-calling commences. A *crescendo* is generated in the public discourse, leading to public hysteria, as the selected target is declared the dragon to be slain at all cost. As with every other item on the agenda, we are never told where the campaign intends to end. We sit in Edgar Allan Poe's cell, helplessly watching as the four walls and the ceiling close in on us.

By now, the targets, methods, and slogans of the other side have achieved such perfection (they *appear* so reasonable, compassionate, equitable) that exposing their true origins, along with the destruction that invariably follows in their wake, is the only way for our side to win. Lead us on to a winning course, Senator Dole. If they say, "Character does not matter—issues matter," tell them that *principles* matter even more. Serve notice that henceforth issues will be discussed first as they relate to our founding principles. Thus, the issue is not affirmative action, but equality before the law; not cutting off immigration, but inviting only those whose desire to become American; not the level of funding for Goals 2000, but restating where government has, and where it has not, a role to perform. Take the lead, and watch candidates—and voters—line up behind you. —Balint Vazsonyi

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Come One, Come All

ROSEMARY JENKS

IMMIGRATION experts generally agree that the Clinton Administration has devoted more attention to immigration than either of its two Republican predecessors. Mr. Clinton's policies, however, tend to be reactive, and he always has at least two reactions: his initial public statement (determined largely by public-opinion polls, which show support for restrictions), and then the actual policy (as determined by his advisors and the various special interests they represent).

Let's begin with a look at Clinton's record on illegal immigration, since that is a major focus of his re-election campaign, particularly in California, a must-win state. Less than three months after taking office Clinton sent to Congress his Fiscal Year 1994 budget proposal for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which included cutting 93 Border Patrol positions. Four months later, Clinton responded to pressure from California Democrats Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein (who was gearing up for re-election) by giving a speech in which he proclaimed that "our borders leak like a sieve" and urged that $45.1 million be spent to beef up the Border Patrol, including six hundred new agents. He failed to mention that the House had already approved an additional $60 million for the Border Patrol, or that the Senate Appropriations Committee had approved an additional $45 million.

In September 1993, the Border Patrol chief in El Paso, Silvestre Reyes, proved, on his own initiative, that illegal immigration could be reduced by up to 75 per cent, without a massive increase in money or personnel, by focusing on deterrence instead of apprehension. The Administration, apparently incensed that an employee would dare to be innovative without prior approval, ostracized Reyes and dismissed his hugely successful strategy as unworkable in other border areas. During the next few months, because of California's Proposition 187, Sen. Feinstein's neck-and-neck race with Republican challenger Michael Huffington, and Democrat Kathleen Brown's floundering bid to unseat Gov. Pete Wilson, the Administration was motivated to come up with its own plan to curb illegal immigration in San Diego. Thus, on October 1, 1994, Attorney General Janet Reno unveiled the multi-million-dollar Operation Gatekeeper, heralded as an El Paso –type deterrence strategy, but actually more like the old (and unsuccessful) cat-and-mouse apprehension strategy.

Clinton repeatedly holds up Operation Gatekeeper as proof that he is more serious than Republicans about controlling illegal immigration. Border Patrol statistics, however, show that the number of illegal aliens apprehended in San Diego actually *increased* in all but three months of the first year and a half of Gatekeeper, rather than declining by the 70 per cent or so that Administration officials had promised.

These statistics presented something of a problem for the Administration until April 1996, when apprehensions in San Diego suddenly began to plummet. Two months later, the Administration was facing allegations that Border Patrol officials were falsifying arrest records to get the numbers down.

Clinton always has at least two reactions: his initial public statement, and then the actual policy

The Clinton Administration's record on political asylum is similar. During his first presidential campaign, Clinton berated George Bush for the latter's policy of returning Haitian boat people to Haiti for asylum interviews. Clinton pledged to provide a safe haven for the fleeing Haitians. Soon after the election, however, media reports that Haitians were building large numbers of boats to take advantage of his generosity spurred an angry public reaction. He immediately announced that he would maintain the Bush policy. This was only the first of many Clinton flip-flops on Haiti.

And then came the Cuban rafters. First, Clinton directed that their asylum claims be screened on board the Coast Guard ships that picked them up. When the ships filled up, Clinton directed that the Cubans be diverted to Guantánamo for asylum interviews. When Guantánamo began to fill up, with no end in sight, Clinton made a deal with Fidel Castro: the United States would admit a *minimum* of twenty thousand Cuban immigrants each year if Castro would agree to halt the outflow of rafters. Attorney General Reno announced that *no* Cubans would be admitted to the United States directly from Guantánamo (this was supposed to entice them to leave Guantánamo and return home voluntarily). The vast majority of Guantánamo Cubans are now settled in Miami—after being transported directly from Guantánamo.

Seven months into his term, Clinton proposed legislation that included expedited exclusion for frivolous asylum claimants, an increase in INS asylum personnel, and various anti-smuggling provisions. But it didn't take long for the President to succumb to pressure from immigrant-advocacy, refugee-rights, and lawyers' groups and abandon the legislative package in favor of a watered-down package of administrative reforms that would have had little impact except for a provision that decouples the work permit from the asylum-application process.

For most of the past four years, the Administration has spoken about the need to reform the asylum system and reduce fraudulent applications. In most cases these statements have come in reaction to the latest crisis: Haiti, Cuba, the World Trade Center bombing, the *Golden Venture* incident (Clinton promised that the Chinese arriving on that ship would be swiftly deported, but many still are languishing in U.S. jails). But all the while, it has been broadening the asylum system to advance its social agenda. Under U.S. law, asylum is for people facing *state-sponsored political persecution*, but we now grant asylum, for example, to women facing genital mutilation. The latest Administration proposal reportedly is to grant asylum to aliens who are HIV positive (even

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though such aliens are not legally permitted to immigrate to this country).

Finally, there is President Clinton's record on legal immigration. In June 1995, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, chaired by the late Barbara Jordan, recommended a modest cut in legal immigration and the elimination of some extended-family immigration categories. President Clinton immediately endorsed the recommendations as "consistent with my own views" and added that they "are pro-family, pro-work, pro-naturalization." Both Rep. Lamar Smith (R., Tex.) and Sen. Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) modeled their immigration bills on the Commission's recommendations, believing logically enough that they would encounter little resistance after Clinton's enthusiastic endorsement.

Unfortunately, Barbara Jordan died before the Smith and Simpson bills reached the floor, allowing Clinton to renege on his endorsement without risking a Jordan tongue-lashing (one Commission staffer told me he's glad he's not the one who will have to explain Clinton's reversal to Miss Jordan on the other side of the Pearly Gates). So, during the Senate Judiciary Committee markup of the Simpson bill, Attorney General Reno and INS Commissioner Meissner personally lobbied senators to support an amendment by Sen. Spencer Abraham (R., Mich.) to split the legislation into one bill on illegal immigration and one on legal, thus effectively killing any chance for legal-immigration reform in the Senate. Two days before the final House vote on the Smith bill, President Clinton sealed the fate of legal-immigration reform by announcing his support for an amendment by Reps. Dick Chrysler (R., Mich.), Howard Berman (D., Calif.), and Sam Brownback (R., Kan.) to eliminate from the bill the reductions in legal immigration.

In sum, the Clinton Administration has rejected the one proven strategy for controlling illegal immigration, broadened the grounds for asylum, and killed legal-immigration reform.

(One final note: If you did not find your favorite Clinton immigration flip-flop here, I apologize—the list was so long I had to pick and choose.) □

Carrying a Small Stick

JOSHUA MURAVCHIK

NO other American President in eighty years has faced as benign an international environment as greeted Bill Clinton, and he has made the least of it. The collapse of the Soviet Union left the United States as sole superpower—meaning among other things that no other power or coalition could make war on us with any hope of success—and so we enjoy a margin of security that can withstand mediocre conduct of policy by our national lead-

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ers. But if, say, ten or fifteen years from now, we face a more perilous world, we may look back to the Clinton years as a time of wasted opportunities to build a more secure peace.

Clinton has been cavalier about maintaining our military strength and our credibility, heedless about maintaining principles of international order, and weak in his response to the threats posed by terrorism and nuclear proliferation. In addition, his record has been lackluster in preserving and strengthening key alliances and in working to forestall the emergence of future great-power rivals.

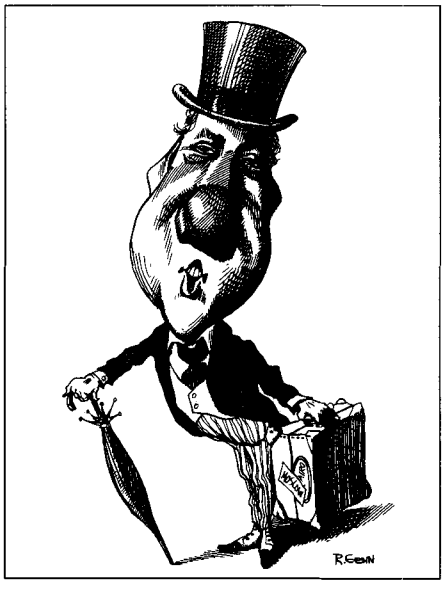
The bottom-up review was necessarily a farce: its budget ceiling was dictated by the White House in advance

Under Clinton, America's military supremacy has begun to erode, although the cost of maintaining it would entail much less sacrifice than during the Cold War. The Bush Administration had responded to the ending of the Cold War by designing a base force much smaller and cheaper than had been envisioned before the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union. In the 1992 campaign, Bill Clinton said that he would cut the defense budget another $60 billion below Bush's base-force level. This number did not reflect any reckless dovishness, he insisted; rather, it was based on alternatives to the Bush force worked up by such responsible, pro-defense Democrats as Senator Sam Nunn and Congressman Les Aspin. But no sooner did Clinton take office than the Nunn–Aspin numbers were out the window in favor of a $127-billion cut necessitated by Clinton's effort to reduce the budget deficit without reducing domestic spending.

The Administration attempted to rationalize these cuts by ordering a bottom-up review of defense needs, but for all the ability of Aspin, by then Defense Secretary, and his deputy John Deutsch, the bottom-up review was necessarily a farce: its budget ceiling was dictated by the White House in advance. In the end, the Pentagon designed a force structure that it said would enable the United States to fight two regional wars at once, but independent studies by the Congressional Budget Office and the General Accounting Office concluded that the President's budget fell anywhere from $50 to $150 billion short of what it would cost to purchase that force. (To make matters worse, a panel of former chiefs of staff assembled independently by Senator John McCain charged that, even fully funded, the Clinton force was not adequate to fulfill its nominal two-war mission.)

The low priority Clinton has given to defense is symbolized by the sharp reductions he ordered in the development of strategic defenses. In opposing congressional measures to accelerate this program the Administration has argued that the threat of missile attack by secondary powers is still a decade away and that the United States should wait until then to deploy the most up-to-date system then available. But we underestimated the pace of Iraq's nuclear program and of North Korea's, just as we did again and again with the Soviet Union. And the notion that if we delay we will be able eventually to deploy a more modern system ignores the incremental, learning-through-experience way that such technologies evolve.

As careless as Clinton has been about maintaining America's military supremacy, he has been no less careless about maintaining our credibility. In May 1993, he drew a clear line with China about human rights: MFN would be renewed for one year only. At the end of that time, if China had not made demonstrable progress in seven specified areas, MFN would not be renewed again. When the year was up, Clinton announced that China had failed in five of seven areas but said that he would renew MFN anyway because he had decided that trade should not be linked to human rights.



WHEN alarms arose about North Korea's nuclear program, Clinton declared that it would not be acceptable for Pyongyang to possess nuclear weapons, but when the CIA announced that it believed North Korea already possessed one or more such weapons, Clinton negotiated a deal allowing Pyongyang to keep whatever weapons it already had. In 1995, Clinton's trade representative foolishly went to the brink with our ally, Japan, in a dispute about sales of autos and auto parts and then backed down when the Japanese refused to concede. Again and again, Administration spokesmen threatened Serb forces in Bosnia with retaliation for their wanton attacks on civilians and UN peacekeepers, but these threats were almost never carried out. In the end, Clinton's envoy Richard Holbrooke secured the Dayton accords, which brought a halt to the killing; but the Serbs, and to a lesser extent the other parties, have violated the provisions that might have made a lasting peace possible—return of refugees, freedom of travel, protection of political rights, arrest of war criminals. And they have done this with impunity. Serbian mobs even stoned American troops without suffering retaliation.

While Clinton's policies have weakened the main instruments of world peace—America's might and credibility—his feckless performance in Bosnia has weakened the main principle of world peace, namely the rule against aggression. That was the rule that America upheld in its first post–Cold War test when we led in the liberation of Kuwait. President Bush, who performed so ably there, failed to apply the same principle to Bosnia. Candidate Clinton criticized Bush for this, but during his own first two and a half years in office he allowed the aggression to continue unchallenged. He bowed eagerly to leadership from Europe and

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the United Nations, while articulating a doctrine of aggressive "multilateralism." In this manner, Clinton attempted to escape the reality that in today's unipolar world, neither order nor lawfulness is likely to flow from any sources other than American power and leadership.

The Clinton Administration has attached high importance to discouraging nuclear proliferation, but the deal it cut with North Korea has damaged the global constraints on proliferation. For its flagrant defiance of the non-proliferation treaty, North Korea is being rewarded with $4 to $5 billion in energy subsidies, including new reactors deemed less susceptible (but not unsusceptible) to exploitation for weapon production. These reactors are of the same kind that Russia has agreed to sell to Iran. Although America has protested that deal, our protests ring hollow.

In Clinton's defense it may be said that North Korea's nuclear drive left us with few attractive options; but his decision to compromise the non-proliferation regime is impossible to reconcile with his go-slow approach to developing strategic defenses. Bribing North Korea has created an incentive for other states to flout the non-proliferation treaty, an incentive that is enhanced by America's vulnerability to nuclear missiles.

Another global menace that Clinton has attempted to address is terrorism. Combatting it is virtually synonymous with combatting the America-hating regime in Iran, which is the main state sponsor of global terrorism. Clinton has been handicapped by our allies' reluctance to confront Teheran, but his own approach has been too timid.

His declared policy toward Iran and Iraq is dual containment, but in practice it seems that Washington seeks not merely to contain Iraq but to oust Saddam Hussein. It is widely believed that America will not agree to the lifting of UN sanctions on Iraq until Saddam is gone. There are equally compelling reasons for seeking the ouster of the mullahs' terrorist regime in Iran (which also avidly pursues nuclear-weapons capability), but up until now Administration spokesmen have signaled to Teheran our desire to improve relations by declaring that we regard the current regime as permanent. The fatuousness of these overtures is suggested by indications of Iranian involvement in the recent Dhahran and TWA bombing. Meanwhile, Clinton's secretary of state, Warren Christopher, has boosted the prestige of Iran's partner in terrorism, the Syrian regime of Hafez al-Assad, by paying dozens of personal visits there. He even docilely accepts Mr. Assad's snubs.

While lavishing attention on the likes of Assad, Clinton has a spotty record on maintaining ties with our friends. His inertia on Bosnia created serious strains in NATO though these seem to have been resolved by the Dayton accords. Other strains are mounting over new American legislation that imposes secondary boycotts against firms doing business with Iran, Libya, and Cuba. Clinton does not deserve primary blame for these: it must be laid either upon the allies for resisting this approach or upon Congress, where this legislation originated. Still, strong presidential leadership might succeed in forging a constructive compromise—say, by insisting that our allies join us in tougher measures against Iran, which poses a real current danger, while agreeing to a softer line on Cuba and Libya, which do not. No such leadership has been forthcoming.

Neither has strong leadership been exhibited on the question of NATO enlargement, despite the West's obvious interest in opening its arms to new free-market democracies that are desperately eager to join our alliance. On the other side of the world, Asia's astonishing economic growth has inspired many predictions that it will be the cockpit of

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global politics in the twenty-first century. Happily, America has a unique relationship of strategic cooperation with Japan, which is bound to remain Asia's most advanced country. What sense, then, does it make to tax that relationship repeatedly with high-handed attacks on Japanese commercial practices, especially when serious economists are divided about where the fault lies for various trade discrepancies?

At a time of peace it is important not only to preserve friendships, but also to think ahead about possible future enemies. The two powers that have the greatest potential for confronting America with a new cold war are Russia and China. The point of such foresight is not to create self-fulfilling prophecies by treating these powers hostilely, but rather to consider courses of action that will avert such conflict. China is an emerging behemoth, likely to seek its day in the sun and already throwing its weight around in its region. But China is also changing, and it is most likely to keep on a benign path externally if it liberalizes and democratizes internally. After eating his words about tying China's trade privileges to its human-rights record, Clinton outlined alternative steps to promote liberalization in China—a new human-rights strategy, he called it. But after two years, none of those steps has been taken.

With regard to Russia, Clinton has worked diligently to support democracy, but he might have combined a warm, open-handed policy toward Russia with some greater firmness toward Russia's mischievous role in Bosnia, its extreme (and apparently self-defeating) brutality in Chechnya, and its illegitimate objections to NATO expansion. An important bulwark against any

Making the World Safe

MORE than a thousand people have died and millions have had to flee their homes, the wires have reported, during recent flooding of the Yangtze River. By historic standards this is a modest flood. Tens of thousands drown every few years in Yangtze floods, and there have been cases when millions died from the uncontrolled waters of China's largest river spilling its banks.

Lord knows the Communist dynasty ruling in Peking has many crimes to account for, but attempting to tame the waters of the Yangtze to save its citizens from those deadly floods surely does not rank among them. Yet the Clinton Administration has given extraordinarily high priority to sabotaging the financing of the Three Gorges Dam, China's $12-billion effort to control the floods. To save fresh-water dolphins, Siberian cranes, and picturesque rugged scenery, the Administration has worked assiduously to stop the project. Samuel Berger, deputy National Security Advisor, intervened with the supposedly independent Ex-Im Bank to stop commercial credits for it. As a result, Caterpillar and other U.S. companies seeking to sell equipment in competition with Japanese and European manufacturers have been handicapped, and the cost of building the dam increased. Behind the scenes the Administration also threatened to use its veto power at the World Bank and other international agencies to prevent them from lending money for the Three Gorges project.

Now, there may be legitimate criticisms of the design of the Three Gorges dam. It may be Stalinist gargantuism. Maybe a design with several smaller dams would have been better? Maybe the scenery and endangered species could have been accommodated to a greater degree, while still providing flood control and electricity? Such questioning of detail would be one thing. But the U.S. position under the Clinton Administration has been one of outright hostility to the aims of the Yangtze project, reflecting a humanity-hating environmentalism that dwells on possible dangers to birds and fish while cavalierly disregarding the needs of tens of millions of people. This extreme brand of environmentalism pervades the Clinton Administration.

Indeed, its "integrating" this environmentalism into all aspects of government has been a major internal goal of the Clinton Administration. In foreign policy, for example, this has meant creating a new under-secretary position for environmental affairs at the Department of State, a position given to Green ex-Senator Timothy Wirth; designating a senior officer at each embassy as "environmental point person"; and identifying environmentalist doctrine as part of the United States vital interests. A memorandum from Secretary of State Warren Christopher dated February 14 to all embassies and bureaus of the State Department said that "environmental concerns" will henceforth be a key component of U.S. foreign policy. Environmental issues are to be "integrated" into "bureau and mission program plans," into "trip plans," and into "talking points for bilateral meetings involving the President and other senior officials." In short, every U.S. official is under orders to become an environmentalist scold.

One hopes that the vast majority of U.S. officials will just go through the motions, generating the usual statements about recycling, energy conservation, ozone-layer protection, dolphin protection, and suchlike, and inserting them into their memoranda. But there has been a steady entrenchment of this stuff even as the bits and pieces of science underpinning it are demonstrated to be junk.

TAKE that mother of all scares, global warming. Simply put, there isn't any global warming. It isn't happening, according to the most sophisticated temperature measurement by balloon and satellite. There's a lot of theory and many fancy computer modelings about why it should be happening. But it just isn't there on the thermometers.

So now we have parts of the Clinton Administration engaging in Statistical Fraud 101 (see graph). Any time series of a phenomenon like average temperature by year will bump up and down, and elementary junk science yields a handy means of "proving" an upward trend. Search a series for a couple of low years and start off with those; then cut off your trend line when you've got a couple of high years. The global-warming junkmeisters at Lawrence

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revival of Russian imperialism is a vibrant, independent Ukraine. Clinton's administration has recognized this and has placed Ukraine near the top of the list of American aid recipients. Still, it remains the case that under Clinton, America has spent far more seeking to strengthen democracy in Haiti—a small, sad country of no strategic importance and weak democratic prospects—than on China and Ukraine combined. Strange priorities!

Clinton's best performance has been in overseeing the completion and adoption of NAFTA and GATT. While trade is important, security remains the more important purpose of foreign policy, but Clinton came to office showing little interest in it. He wanted, he said, to "focus like a laser" on the domestic economy. And in 1993 he brushed aside a reporter's question about Bosnia by saying, "What I got elected to do was to let America look at our own problems."

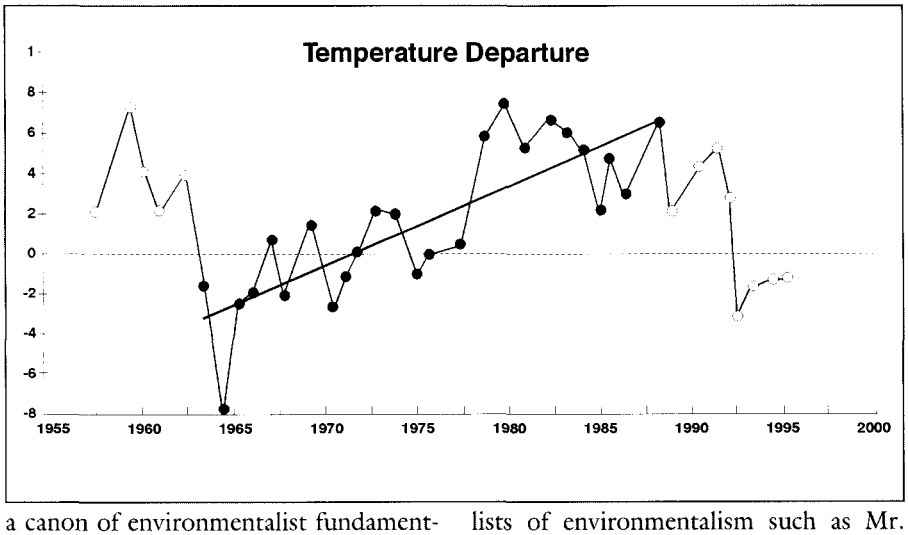
The closest thing to a security strategy advanced by his administration was "assertive multilateralism," born of the wish to deflect burdens and a starry-eyed view of the United Nations. But this "doctrine" was repudiated after a company of U.S. army rangers under U.N. mandate was decimated in the streets of Mogadishu in October 1993.

Since then, Clinton's foreign policy has been a jumble of improvised responses to crises and to foreign and domestic political pressures and calculations of electoral advantage. The results have not been disastrous because of the wide margin of security that accrued to America upon the demise of our superpower rival. But Clinton's uncertain stewardship has narrowed that margin and left the sinews of world peace weaker than he found them. □

Livermore National Laboratory just last month did that in an article in *Nature* magazine using temperature data from 1963 to 1987. Given that 1964 was extraordinarily cold and 1987 very hot, these cheerleaders for Al Gore produced a good-looking uptrend (see blacked-in circles).

Of course when you include the data from a few years before 1963 and the years since 1987—as Patrick Michaels, a University of Virginia climatologist, quickly did—you get what every reputable calculation of the thermometer data shows, which is that there is no uptrend (see years with open circles).

More recently, the Administration made a major shift leftward to embrace



a canon of environmentalist fundamentalism that it had previously found too hot politically—mandatory limits on emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. Green Czar Timothy Wirth announced a new U.S. policy of mandatory limits on carbon-dioxide emissions at a press conference in Geneva July 16 saying the United States was proposing a "radical" international accord: "What we want is a binding target for reducing greenhouse-gas emissions that is agreed on internationally." This radical approach has never been the subject of any reasoned Administration statement or testimony, let alone the subject of major study by a serious scientific panel. Indeed, a National Academy of Sciences (NAS) study a couple of years ago said that if global warming does occur humanity can adapt, since the computer-forecast changes in climate are similar in magnitude to natural changes. But the Administration is going by green-faith, and science is useful to it only insofar as it supports that faith.

By pushing an international accord on suppressing greenhouse gases, evangelists of environmentalism such as Mr. Wirth are able to take the huge issues of constraining our power stations and industries out of domestic policy forums. If the accord is agreed to in Geneva, then it gains international legitimacy and opponents at home are disparaged as "flying in the face of world opinion and advocating that we flout international law."

At the same time that users of the carbon fuels of coal, oil, and gas are under pressure from the threatened mandatory international controls driven by the warming scare, the nuclear-power industry is not being allowed to dispose of its wastes. The Clinton Department of Energy, under environmentalist influence, is stalling on the opening of the Yucca Mountain high-level nuclear-waste repository in Nevada with years' more studies of possible seismic and other dangers. What was supposed to open in 1998 now cannot open before 2010, the Administration says.

Nuclear power plants have such a good safety record in operation that their opponents rely on hypothetical problems of waste disposal to stop new plants and to get existing ones closed. And so high-level wastes are accumulating onsite year by year at a hundred nuclear plants around the country because the Administration won't open the long-term repository that has been built in Nevada.

Meanwhile the green assault on synthetic chemicals is being pushed within the Environmental Protection Agency in a bold move to dispense with a hitherto unchallenged part of science—the EPA proposes to simply omit from it as cancer-test guidelines the test of statistical significance—the classic scientific tool for measuring the possibility that study results reflect chance rather than a regular association. As the newsletter *EPA WATCH* reported: "Reducing the role of statistical significance or eliminating it altogether, could open the door for EPA to drastically expand the number of substances subject to environmental regulation." The newsletter might have added: and allow the EPA to regulate in an even more arbitrary fashion than now—at home and abroad.

—Peter Samuel

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Tax, Spend–and Elect?

ALAN REYNOLDS

IN 1992, the economy grew by 2.7 per cent. Candidate Bill Clinton described that as "the worst economic performance in fifty years." In 1995 the economy grew by around 2 per cent. Yet in this January's State of the Union message, the President said the economy is "the healthiest in thirty years." So on which, if either, occasion was Bill Clinton telling the truth?

By every conceivable measure of income, output, or productivity, the economy has performed poorly on Clinton's watch, particularly in comparison with what Bob Bartley dubbed "the seven fat years" of 1983 to 1989.

Gross domestic product: Real GDP, the most comprehensive measure of the economy's output, grew by only 2.3 per cent a year in 1993–95, down from 3.9 per cent in 1983–89.

Productivity: Growth of output per hour in the non-farm business sector averaged only 0.5 per cent a year in 1993–95, down from 1.6 per cent in 1983–89. Labor Department figures on "multifactor productivity" show the ratio of capital to labor falling in 1993–94, which inevitably slows the growth of productivity, real wages, and family incomes.

Real disposable income: After-tax personal income rose by only 2.3 per cent a year in 1993–95, down from 3.5 per cent in 1983–89.

Real labor compensation: Real hourly wages and benefits rose by 7 per cent in 1981–88, but were virtually flat from 1988 to 1995.

Employment: As measured by the household survey, employment grew by only 1.9 per cent a year in 1993–95, down from 2.4 per cent in 1983–89. Measured by an alternative survey of business (which may count the same workers twice), payroll employment grew by 2.6 per cent a year in 1993–95, but that too was down from 3 per cent in 1983–89.

Labor force: The supply of new workers slowed to 0.8 per cent a year in 1993–95, down from 1.8 per cent in 1983–89. Demographics can't begin to explain this huge and sudden drop in the willingness to look for work, but disincentives in our tax and transfer payments can.

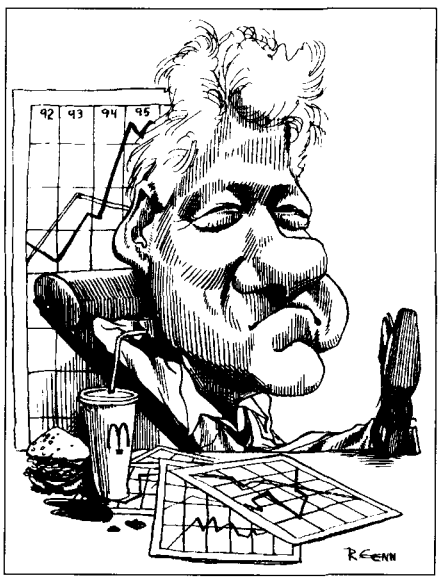
Savings: Gross private savings amounted to only 14.6 per cent of GDP in 1993–95, down from 17.2 per cent in 1983–89.

Was this trip really necessary?

Even in the very few areas where the economy appears to have fared relatively well, it still fails to measure up to the lofty standards set by the Reagan years. The Clinton Administration points with pride to growth of real exports, which did indeed rise at an 8.3 per cent rate over the past three years. But imports grew faster—at a 10 per cent rate. In 1983–89, by contrast, real exports grew by 9.4 per cent a year, and imports by 8.6 per cent.

One statistic almost summarizes all the rest: Median family income fell by more than 5 per cent from 1989 through 1994 (the latest available figure). By contrast, median family income rose by 12.6 per cent from 1982 to 1989. These figures are before taxes, so they understate the actual drop in living standards following the 1993 increase in taxes on incomes, Social Security benefits and gasoline.

Income statistics for 1995 and 1996 are unlikely to look much better. Real wages were flat in 1995, and employment nearly so (by January 1996, employment was only 0.4 per cent higher than a year earlier). Wages picked up a bit in early 1996, but so did inflation. The increase in consumer prices averaged 3.6 per cent in the first half of this year, wiping out nominal wage increases in the process. Recent employment gains have slowed to 1.5 per cent or less, compared with the same month a year ago.



Because employment grew at about the same slow 2 per cent pace as the economy in the past three years, it follows that output per worker (productivity) must have grown very slowly. Indeed, productivity growth averaged only 0.6 per cent in 1993–95, down from 1.6 in 1983–89. There is no mystery at all about why real wages have stagnated in the past three years, despite a flood of misinformed news reports on that topic. Real output per worker and real income per worker are just two different ways of looking at the same thing. If we don't produce more, there won't be more to go around.

There is no mystery at all about why real wages have stagnated in the last three years

The Clinton Administration would much prefer to reduce all these uncomfortable economic comparisons to a single statement—namely, the claim that the President himself has personally "created" nearly ten million jobs. The reason for that single-minded focus is obvious: ten million new jobs sounds like an impressive number. In fact, it isn't. If employment had grown as rapidly in 1993–95 as it did in 1983–89, the economy would have generated two million *more* jobs than it did between the end of 1992 and 1995.

There are two ways the unemployment rate can go down. One is for

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employers to offer more jobs. The other is for fewer people to go looking for jobs (to be listed as unemployed you must be looking for a job and not finding one). As it happens, surprisingly few people have been looking for work. Growth in the labor force has slowed to a crawl. This puts severe limits on future employment growth, and therefore on economic growth as well. And it is one link, but only one, between the decidedly mediocre growth of output and income and the 1993 increase in marginal tax rates.

The 1996 Economic Report of the

Trickle-Down Economics

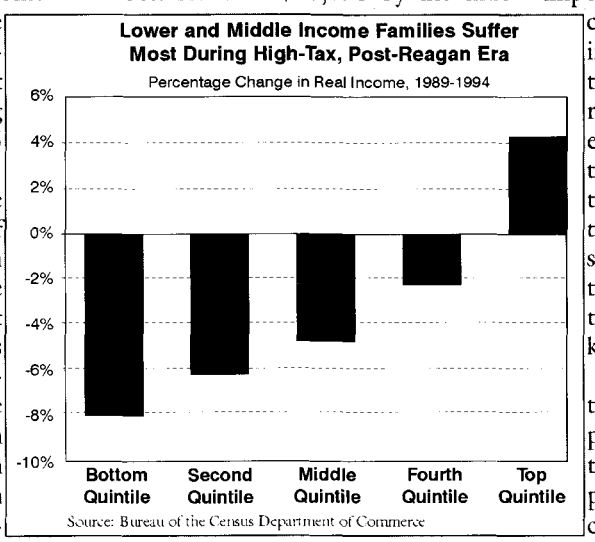
THE conventional wisdom is that the Republican Party is the party of the rich, while the Democrats represent the working class. But under Ronald Reagan's policies working-class Americans prospered, and under Clintonomics, the working class has lost ground. Only the rich have prospered on Clinton's watch.

During the 1980s, each uptick in the share of total income going to the wealthy was trumpeted on the front page of every major newspaper as evidence that the Reaganomics had created an era of greed and income disparity. And indeed, the wealthy were better off. The share of total income going to the top 20 per cent of households rose by 2.4 per cent, and the share going to the top 5 per cent rose by 1.9 per cent during the Reagan Administration. Yet during just the first two years of the Clinton Administration (the latest data go only through 1994), the top 20 per cent increased their share of the income pie as much as they did during the entire eight years of the Reagan Administration. And the top 5 per cent have done even better, increasing their share of total income by 2.5 per cent.

In fact, the share of total income gained by the top 20 per cent of households hit an all-time high in 1994 (49.1 per cent), as did the share going to the top 5 per cent (21.2 per cent). The top quintile's share of total income was significantly lower in every year of the Reagan Administration than in either of Clinton's first two. In 1988, the year under Reagan when the rich did the best, the top quintile received 46.3 per cent of total income and the top 5 per cent received 18.3 per cent. In other words, income gains in the 1980s were more evenly divided among the income classes than has been the case in the 1990s.

How can this be? Clinton's first priority after taking office was to raise taxes on the rich precisely in order to reduce income inequality. This is why the very centerpiece of his economic program was an increase in the top tax rate from 31 per cent to 39.6 per cent—to force the rich to pay more. Yet all the evidence thus far shows that income inequality became worse following the tax increase. Nevertheless after release of the latest income data, the *Washington Post* and other media outlets editorialized against the Republican Congress's proposed tax cut because it "would add to what is already so disturbing a trend" of greater income inequality.

At least Reagan could argue that although the rich got richer, so did everyone else. Real median family income (in 1994 dollars) rose from $36,825 when he took office to $40,890 by the time he left. Furthermore, the average real income of those in the bottom quintile of households rose from $7,954 to $8,391, and the income of those in the second lowest quintile rose from $18,856 to $20,797. The third and fourth quintiles also saw significant increases.



By contrast, median family income has been flat during the Clinton Administration. During its first two years, real median family income averaged $38,343, down from $38,632 in 1992 and well below the level when Reagan left office. The income of the bottom quintile has averaged $7,681 and that of the second quintile has averaged $19,176. In 1992 these groups averaged $7,698 and $19,205, respectively. However, the average income of the top quintile rose from $96,240 in 1992 to $105,945 in 1994, and that of the top 5 per cent went from $152,751 to $183,044.

Other measures of income also show that the non-rich have not benefited at all from Clinton's policies. Workers, for example, are no better off today than they were when Clinton took office. In January 1993 real average weekly earnings for private-sector workers were $253.76 (in 1982 dollars). In May 1996, the most recent month for which there are data, real earnings were $253.80. That works out to a real pay increase of just one cent per week for every year Clinton has been in office.

History teaches us that it is virtually impossible to reduce the share of income going to the wealthy by raising their taxes. The reason is that the negative economic effects of raising marginal tax rates reduce everyone's incomes. The only way to raise the share of income going to the non-wealthy is by increasing the rate of economic growth. The source of the wealthy's gains during the Clinton years has been lower interest rates and a strong stock market.

Workers, meanwhile, have seen their incomes squeezed by Clinton's policies—the prosperity has not trickled down. Only an aggressive pro-growth policy of supply-side tax cuts and less regulation will improve their living standards. Contrary to conventional wisdom, throughout American history a rising tide really has lifted all boats. Clinton's austerity has succeeded in lifting only the yachts of the Kennedys and the Rockefellers.

—BRUCE BARTLETT

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President complains, "some claimed these tax rate increases [e.g., in 1993] would do severe harm to the economy by creating disincentives for individuals to work and save. Again, these forecasts turned out to be false, just as did the earlier supply-side forecasts of rapid growth from tax reductions." It is difficult to imagine what numbers the President's economists have been looking at. If 3.9 per cent economic growth from 1983 to 1989 did not constitute "rapid growth from tax reductions," then what are we to make of 2.3 per cent growth from Mr. Clinton's higher tax rates?

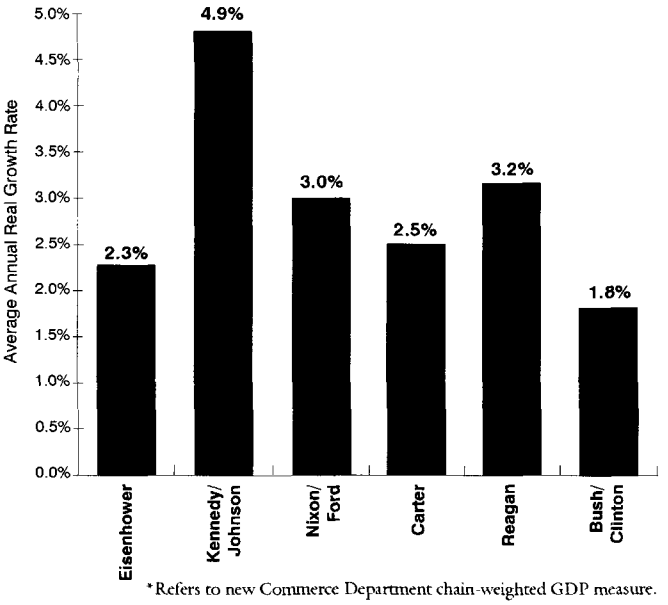
When it comes to "disincentives for individuals to work," look at what the Economic Report itself says: "The increase in the overall labor-force-participation rate has slowed since the late 1980s. . . . The stagnant participation rate has been one of the more enduring aspects of this expansion." Many secondary earners, mostly women, dropped out of the job market after the counterproductive, revenue-losing tax-rate increases of 1990 and 1993. The percentage of families with two or more earners, for example, dropped to 56.4 per cent in 1993 from 58.2 per cent in 1989, while the percentage with zero workers rose. This should come as no surprise. Assuming the first earner makes more than $140,000, the very first dollar of a second earner's income is now taxed at the same demoralizing 36–40 per cent rate as the first earner's last dollar.

More and more people are also retiring earlier. This too was quite predictable. The extra 1993 tax on Social Security benefits severely punishes older people who keep working, or who made the mistake of having saved enough to afford a modest retirement. The increase in the already punitive estate tax also undermines a major incentive for working and saving in later years.

In 1993, the earned-income tax credit increased the share of the loot given to those with incomes well above the poverty level. That too discouraged additional work and additional workers. Marginal tax rates on any extra income are now 50–75 per cent for two-thirds of EITC recipients.

The reduction in the supply of willing workers is what kept the measured unemployment rate low, despite the fact that employment has grown by only 1.3 per cent a year since 1991, down from 2.4 per cent in 1983–89. Labor Department demographers had forecast that the labor force would grow by 1.3 per cent a year in the 1990s, but it has not even grown by 1 per cent. If the number of job seekers had grown as rapidly as the demographic experts suggested, there would be a lot more people looking for work, and the unemployment rate would now be well above 8 per cent. If the labor force had grown as rapidly as in the Eighties, the unemployment rate would exceed 11 per cent.

Average Annual Real Economic Growth*



*Refers to new Commerce Department chain-weighted GDP measure.

What about "disincentives . . . to save"? Since tax rates went up in 1993, personal saving has dropped to 4.2 per cent of after-tax income, down from 5.9 per cent in 1992. Measured in constant 1992 dollars, real personal saving was only $223.8 billion in 1995, compared with $310.5 billion ten years earlier. Increased tax rates on high-income individuals and on corporations directly reduced the amount of disposable income left to save, as well as reducing incentives to save.

Apologists for Clinton's economic policies often blame Alan Greenspan for the sluggish growth of output and income. Has the Fed been discouraging growth through excessively tight monetary policy? Hardly. Short-term interest rates have been much lower in the past three years than they ever were in 1983–89, in both nominal and real terms. In other words, the Fed was less accommodating in the 1980s than today, but we had higher growth then.

By the time of the November election, living standards will have gone nowhere but down for seven years. This is unprecedented. In the 49 years that figures on median family income have been collected, they never before declined for seven years. The worst economic performance in fifty years, as Mr. Clinton used to say, is arguably right now. □

Wages of Sin

WILLIAM NISKANEN

PRODUCTIVITY growth has been only 0.5 per cent a year on Bill Clinton's watch, the lowest rate through an Administration since Herbert Hoover. Worker productivity since 1993 has been only about one-third the rate under Ronald Reagan (1.3 per cent) and has even been well below the rate under George Bush (0.9 per cent).

We care about productivity rates because this is what drives the real wages of workers. Given the anemic productivity rates since 1993, it should hardly be surprising that the growth of average real (inflation-adjusted) labor compensation under Clinton has also been very low. This is the primary reason, even with low unemployment and inflation, why many Americans are concerned about their economic future. This is the primary pocketbook issue on which Clinton's record is vulnerable.

The average rate of worker-productivity growth has declined somewhat unevenly for thirty years, interrupted

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only by a temporary upswing during the Reagan years. The reasons for this long-term decline are not fully understood by economists, let alone policymakers, but the following conditions are at least partly responsible:

1. Too many young workers have low job skills, despite a long-term increase of real spending per student by over 30 per cent a decade. The average composite SAT score peaked in 1963, declined almost continuously through 1980, and has since been roughly stable.

On his record, Bill Clinton has no claim to the mantle of compassion

2. Taxes as a percentage of GDP have increased by about 5 points beginning with the Vietnam War and the expansion of the welfare state in the mid 1960s.

3. The costs of health, safety, and environmental regulation and of civil litigation increased sharply beginning in the early 1970s.

4. The net national saving rate has declined sharply over the past 15 years, reflecting the combination of a decline in the private saving rate and an increase in the federal deficit. The private sector has been able to maintain a somewhat higher investment rate only by a substantial increase in borrowing from foreigners.

President Clinton did not create these conditions, but he should be judged by what, if anything, he has done to alleviate them.

As it has turned out, the Clinton Administration and, more generally, the national Democratic Party, has been an enemy of the very types of policies that are necessary to increase productivity growth. Let me count the ways:

—In response to the teachers' unions, Clinton has opposed school vouchers, even in the District of Columbia (where his daughter attends a private school). In response to the industrial unions, Clinton proposed a substantial increase in the minimum wage (which reduces the opportunity for on-the-job training) and opposed a bill that would have relaxed the restriction on "quality circles" in non-union firms.

—At almost every decision point, Clinton has sided with the current beneficiaries of federal spending rather than with present and future taxpayers. Both Bush and Clinton addressed the deficit more by increasing taxes than by reducing domestic spending. As a consequence, the top marginal rate on earnings was increased from 28 per cent to 42 per cent. For any given reduction in the deficit, however, the economic benefits of reduced spending have proved to be much higher than the benefits of higher tax revenues. In other words, it matters a lot *how* we balance the budget.

—Fortunately, there has been relatively little new regulatory legislation on Clinton's watch; indeed a substantial deregulation of agriculture and telecommunications was approved (though without much of an Administration role). But Clinton and congressional Democrats blocked other regulatory-reform measures. Of greater concern, Clinton seems to have given the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration almost free rein. For example, the FDA has proposed major restrictions on tobacco marketing with no clear statutory authority.

—In response to the trial lawyers, Clinton vetoed bills to restrict shareholder suits and to reform product-liability law. The costly litigation explosion is another factor in the deterioration in productivity.

—Senior members of the Administration have demonized corporate CEOs, the banking industry, drug firms, the insurance industry, oil companies, the medical profession, and tobacco firms. Clinton has jeopardized foreign investment by threatening to extend U.S. law to the operations of parent companies abroad. Which firm, industry, or profession is next?

—Clinton opposes proposals to reduce the tax bias against saving and investment while refusing to even acknowledge the multi-trillion dollar implicit debt of the Social Security system.

In sum, the damage done by President Clinton is not primarily that productivity growth has declined on his brief watch. It is that with few exceptions, he has actively opposed the measures that the United States must take to reverse this disturbing trend. Ironically, Bill Clinton ran for President in 1992 issuing a challenge to the American people to have "the courage to change." Now he is the adversary of the very changes in policies that are imperative to build a prosperous future for our children. On this record, Clinton has no claim to the mantle of compassion. □

Not-Growing Pains

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

THROUGHOUT the Bush and Clinton years, America has been suffering from an economic malady known as the growth deficit. This deficit is the ever-widening difference between the potential and actual growth rate of the U.S. economy. The average real annual growth rate from 1990 to 1996 has been a pitiful 1.8 per cent. Between 1947 and 1990 the U.S. economy averaged—through recession and recovery—an annual growth rate of nearly twice that pace (3.3 per cent).

The figure on the next page shows that each year GDP growth remains submerged below America's long-term trend, the growth deficit widens. The cumulative economic loss (the area between the two growth trends) over this period equals $2.6 trillion in forgone wealth. The size of the deficit for just the year 1995 was an enormous $625 billion, or nearly 10 per cent of our $6.7-trillion economy. This translates into forgone income of roughly $5,000 for every American household. When Bill Clinton became President, the growth deficit amounted to $350 billion and $2,500 per household. Thus the sub-par economic performance during Clinton's tenure has already reduced total national output by an additional $300 billion and has cost every American family roughly $2,500.

These growth-deficit numbers underscore the perversity of the prevailing Phillips Curve theology in Washington and on Wall Street—reflected in the

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drop in the stock market in April and July following a good jobs report. The conventional belief these days is that rising employment will push up wages and thus inflation. The financial community seems obsessed over the slightest hint of a rise in average hourly earnings—even though under Clinton that has been the least of economic concerns.

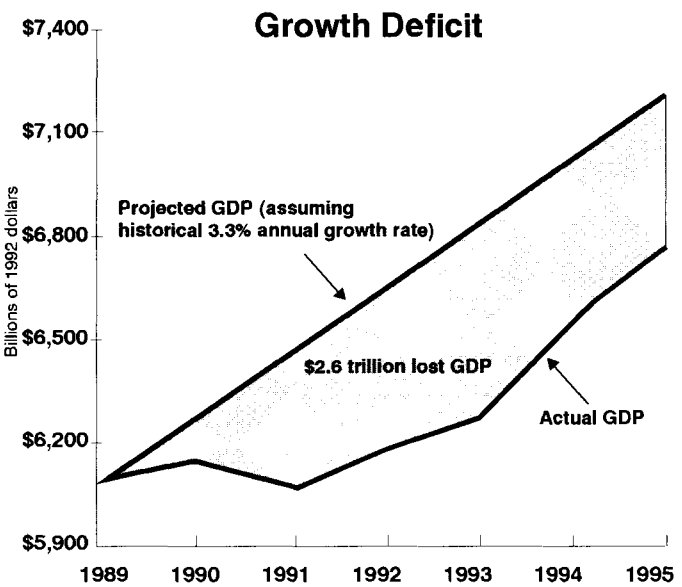
But since when does economic growth cause inflation? Inflation is a monetary phenomenon. Prices rise when too many dollars are chasing too few goods. More work and more output *reduce* inflation. Just as a bumper crop of apples results in lower apple prices, so too does a bumper crop in the production of goods and services lead to less inflation. During the Coolidge–Mellon Twenties, the JFK Sixties, and the Reagan Eighties, rapid growth contributed to low inflation. However, the years of Nixon, Ford, and Carter produced lower growth and higher inflation. You can look it up.

Where did this bizarre notion of "too much growth" come from? And who in Washington or on Wall Street has preordained that the U.S. economy can never again grow above 2.5 per cent? If the economy grew at 3.3 per cent yearly from 1947 to 1990, why are we allegedly condemned to much more meager growth today? In a normal economic-recovery phase we obtain growth rates of 4 to 4.5 per cent.

The drop in America's economic growth potential has little to do with a decline in the spirit of enterprise of American industry or workers, and everything to do with a whole series of muddle-headed policies in Washington. To be sure, the problems didn't begin with Bill Clinton. In a veritable fiscal hall of shame, over the past ten years Republicans and Democrats alike have raised tax and regulatory barriers to capital formation, risk-taking, and growth.

Thirty years ago, when JFK was President, a middle-class business owner-operator paid 15 per cent tax on income and 5 per cent for Social Security, for a combined marginal tax rate of 20 per cent. Today, the same earnings are taxed at 28 per cent on income and over 15 per cent for Social Security and Medicare, for a combined rate of about 43 per cent. Not only do high tax rates blunt growth incentives, but they also hinder the accumulation of savings from after-tax take-home pay.

Next, the regulatory reign of terror on banks and S&Ls (1989–92) denied entrepreneurs the oxygen they need to prosper—access to credit. Many believe that the slump in real estate was caused by overleveraging in the 1980s. The truth is, the real-estate industry sank because asset values began to collapse after overzealous regulators stopped banks and thrifts from lending, and tax rates on asset returns were raised.



The assault on growth was then exacerbated with the infamous 1990 Budget Agreement signed by President Bush. Income tax rates went up, itemized deductions were phased out, the alternative minimum tax was raised, new luxury taxes (which devastated the boat and airplane industries but raised no revenues) were imposed, business taxes were increased, and a promise was broken which ended the Bush Presidency.

Bush also imposed massive new regulatory mandates: the Clean Air Act, the Americans With Disabilities Act, and the Civil Rights Act. Now there is nothing wrong with clean air and we all support civil rights and making life easier for people with disabilities, although many would question whether these bills advanced these goals. But government mandates of this type deter capital formation and pose formidable barriers to business expansion, especially among small firms that can't easily absorb the costs. The costs of most of these new regulations have far exceeded Congress's projections. The Clean Air Act, for example, was supposed to cost $25 billion in lost growth; the actual figure is closer to $100 billion.

The final, decisive blow to the economic-growth model came in the Clinton Presidency with the 1993 tax increases. Hundreds of thousands of families and small businesses were hit with a punitive hike in the marginal income-tax rate from 31 per cent to 40 per cent. Clinton also permanently extended the exemption phaseout; eliminated the wage cap on the 2.9 per cent Medicare payroll tax; increased gasoline taxes; raised the corporate tax rate; hit those who pay the alternative minimum tax with another increase; forced Social Security recipients to pay more; and failed to index the capital-gains tax for inflation.

America's economic malady is the growth *deficit*, not excessive growth. Perhaps there is some exceptionally high real-growth rate that may be unsustainable in some abstract mathematical sense. But under Clintonomics, we are nowhere near it. □

Deficit Delusions

STEPHEN MOORE

IF Woody Allen was right that 90 per cent of life is just showing up, then Bill Clinton has a stellar fiscal record. The federal budget deficit has tumbled from $255 billion in 1993 to a projected $117 billion this year. And Clinton was there when it happened. But that just about covers the extent of his involvement. For evidence of this, let's review the Clinton record over the past three and a half years:

—In February 1993 President Clinton announces his new Administration's

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first economic program: a $16-billion "fiscal stimulus." The spending package is later abandoned by the Democratic Congress as too fiscally irresponsible.

—In February 1993 President Clinton wins passage of his $250-billion tax hike—which New York Sen. Pat Moynihan accurately describes as "the largest tax increase in world history." It passes both houses of Congress without a single Republican vote. The package contains approximately $2 of new spending for every $1 of new taxes.

—In September 1993 the Clinton White House lobbies to defeat the bipartisan Penny–Kasich deficit-reduction bill, which would have cut federal spending and the deficit by $90 billion over five years.

—In January 1994 Bill and Hillary Clinton unveil "ClintonCare." The proposed hostile federal takeover of one-seventh of the U.S. economy would add at least $75 billion to the deficit over the next six years, according to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO).

—In September 1994 the President furiously lobbies liberal Democrats in Congress to oppose a Balanced Budget Amendment—a measure supported by 75 per cent of the American public. Labor Secretary Robert Reich is a little too honest when he confirms most Americans' suspicions about this Administration: "The President is against simply balancing the budget."

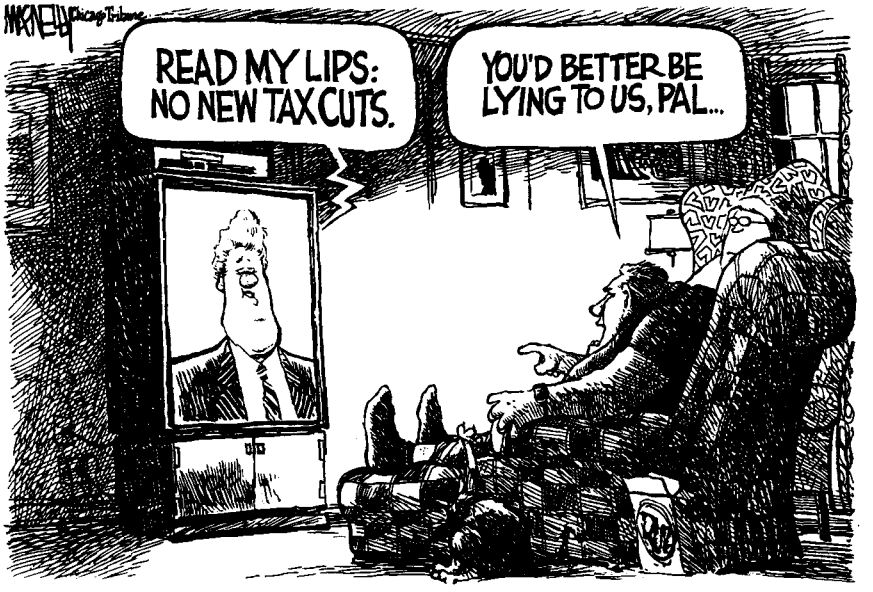
—In October 1994 the President signs into law his $30-billion "crime bill." The *Los Angeles Times* describes the legislation as a "once-in-a-lifetime federal spending bonanza" containing "a vast array of new social programs" including federally funded exotic-dance classes, sensitivity-training courses, and midnight-basketball leagues. The cost of the Clinton bill has to be shaved after the Democratic House of Representatives rejects the original version as too expensive.

—In January 1995 Bill Clinton submits a 1996 budget plan that calls for $12 trillion of spending over the next seven years and $200-billion deficits for as far as the eye can see. Even *Washington Post* reporter David Broder blasts the document as a "symbol of Clinton's failed leadership." Because of the debt Clinton is adding, writes Broder, "the annual net interest is projected to climb from $198 billion in 1993 to $270 billion in 1997—when it will, for the first time, be larger than the projected defense budget."

—In March 1995 Clinton again helps torpedo the Balanced Budget Amendment—this time by strong-arming five Democratic senators, who had campaigned as champions of the amendment—to flip-flop and vote no.

—In June 1995, under pressure from the GOP Congress, Bill Clinton submits a new, revised budget proposal. It still doesn't balance the budget by 2002.

—In July 1995 the Clinton White House begins its successful "Medi-scare" strategy to undermine public support for a GOP plan to rein in stampeding Medicare costs. Even the *Washington Post* editorializes that the Clinton Administration has become a gang of "medagogues." On Medicare and Medicaid, the White House is "engaged in an irresponsible campaign based on distortion and fear."



—In October 1995 Bill Clinton confirms what most of the public is already painfully aware of: "I raised your taxes too much."

—In December 1995 Bill Clinton vetoes the historic balanced-budget legislation enacted by the Republican Congress—listing 82 reasons why it cuts too much spending. He complains of cuts in everything from foreign aid to corporate welfare.

—Later that month Bill Clinton releases his unprecedented third and then fourth budget proposals of the year. But they *still* don't balance the budget.

—In February 1996 Bill Clinton releases a $1.65-trillion 1997 budget that calls for $360 billion in added spending, or $3,100 per American household, over the next seven years. Then with a straight face he tells the nation that "the era of big government is over." Oh, and the proposal *still* doesn't balance the budget by 2002.

—In April 1996 Clinton signs the GOP budget after the Republicans capitulate to his demands and add back some $10 billion of deficit spending.

WHEW! This really is a pillar of fiscal integrity we have in the White House. The point of this demoralizing three-and-a-half-year budget odyssey is this: The Clinton Administration cannot credibly claim credit for the reduction in the deficit unless the nation is suffering from a severe case of fiscal amnesia.

On at least three separate occasions in 1993 and 1994—the fiscal-stimulus package, ClintonCare, and the crime bill—the Administration attempted to make the deficit situation worse, but amazingly was constrained by a Democratic Congress. On four other instances, bipartisan deficit-reduction initiatives were rebuked by Clinton.

Since the Republicans took control of Congress in November of 1994, Clinton's fiscal obstructionism and demagoguery has been elevated to Olympic levels. The Republicans' budget-balancing plan was thrashed almost daily by the White House as "mean-spirited," "radical," "harmful to children, the poor, and the environment," and "just plain wrong for America." Yet in typical Clinton fashion, one day the budget is denounced as "wrong for America," the next day the White House is staging a Rose Garden press conference claiming credit for the impressive first-year

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deficit reduction that the "mean-spirited" Republican budget produced.

So how much of the credit for the impressive drop in the deficit this year does the Administration deserve? The standard spin from the White House these days is that the "enormous progress" on the deficit vindicates the Clinton "$500-billion deficit-reduction" package of 1993. It turns out we can roughly calculate how much of the deficit decline is attributable to Clinton, and how much to Newt Gingrich and the Republican Congress. Back in April 1995, just before the Republicans released their seven-year balanced-budget plan, the CBO announced that Clinton's deficit-reduction plan would produce $211 billion of red ink in 1996.

Instead, the deficit will fall to $117 billion. That's a $94-billion improvement—almost entirely attributable to the GOP budget. Over the entire seven-year budget window, the Gingrich plan chops a shade over $1 trillion ($1,000,000,000,000) of deficit spending from the Clintonomics baseline.

The budget deficit would be lower still had it not been for Bill Clinton's vetoes of Republican Medicare, Medicaid, welfare, and appropriations bills. Those vetoes canceled an estimated $10 to $15 billion in budget cuts for 1996—savings that would have been magnified in future years.

GOP partisans can hardly exult in the deficit story of the past five years, however. Despite this Administration's sorry record of fiscal obstructionism, there is still the unarguable underlying fact that Bill Clinton's overall fiscal performance has been far superior to that of his predecessor, George Bush.

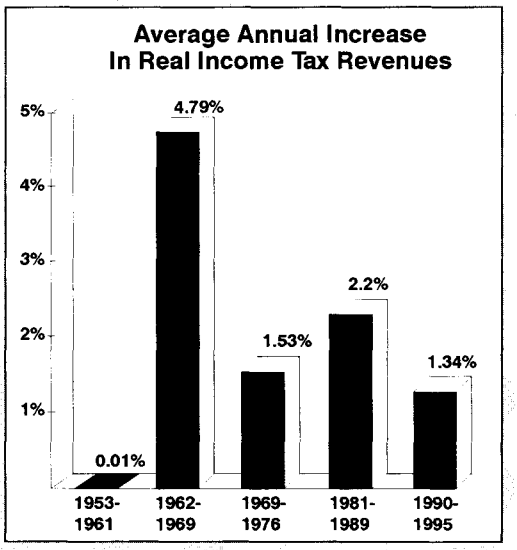
All the deficit reduction of the last three years is simply recovering the lost

Blood from Stones

BILL Clinton's 1993 tax package included the biggest hike in income-tax rates since Herbert Hoover's misguided tax increase in 1930. Supporters of the tax hike argued that the higher taxes on the rich would bring in much-needed revenues to reduce the budget deficit, and would also help close the gap between the incomes of the rich and poor.

Yet the most remarkable feature of the Clinton tax hike has been its failure to generate additional revenues. Even liberals, after all, presumably do not favor higher tax rates just for the sake of punishing success. Do they? Yet consider the following: Taxes consumed 19.2 per cent of economic output (GDP) the year Reagan left office. Since that time, there have been two major tax increases, the Bush tax hike of 1990 and Clinton's record increase of 1993. The impact on tax collections? The Congressional Budget Office estimates revenues this year will total 19.1 per cent of GDP, down by one-tenth of a point.

The futility of higher tax rates can be seen by examining income-tax revenues as a percent of GDP. Higher income-tax rates were to be the major revenue raisers in both the Bush and the Clinton tax hikes, yet income-tax revenues have fallen from 8.6 per cent of GDP when Reagan left office to 8.5 per cent this year, according to the CBO. These numbers are particularly compelling since income-tax revenues typically rise over time as a percentage of GDP in countries with "progressive" tax systems, as even modest increases in income gradually push people into higher tax brackets. The Clinton Administration no doubt would point out that revenues fell under Bush and have risen in the last four years, but this pick-up in revenues is mainly a function of the business cycle and does not change the underlying fact that government is collecting less as a percentage of output even though (or rather, because) the top income-tax rate is 50 per cent higher today than it was at the end of the Reagan era.



The failure of income-tax-rate increases can also be confirmed by examining the growth of income-tax revenue in constant dollars. (See chart.) During the Reagan years, when tax rates were reduced twice, inflation-adjusted income-tax revenues rose an average of 2.2 per cent each year. In the post–Reagan era, which has seen two massive tax-rate increases, revenue growth has slowed to 1.3 per cent annually. Once again, the White House would argue that this comparison does not distinguish between Bush and Clinton, but, since the two Presidents had virtually identical policies of raising tax rates on the rich, such a distinction would be meaningless.

Income-tax revenues also grew substantially faster in the 1960s after President Kennedy's 30 per cent across-the-board tax cuts than in the 1950s with tax rates as high as 90 per cent. In the 1950s real income-tax receipts were flat. Following the Kennedy tax cuts, the revenues increased at a 4.8 per cent clip. After LBJ's surtax, revenue growth again fell by more than half. There seems to be a pattern emerging here.

So if the Bush and Clinton tax increases failed to raise revenues, why has government borrowing declined by more than $100 billion since Clinton took office? Two reasons. First, large real cutbacks in the defense budget of nearly 6 per cent annually; and second, a slow down in the growth of inflation-adjusted domestic spending from the enormous 6.3 per cent annual average under George Bush to 2.5 per cent under Clinton. Yes, it's a sad but true fiscal fact that federal spending has been far more restrained during the Clinton Administration than it was during the Bush Administration. But both Presidents' attempts to gain revenues by raising tax rates have been utterly futile.

—DANIEL MITCHELL

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ground of the early 1990s—Richard Darman's reign of fiscal terror. It is a popular myth that George Bush inherited a budget crisis "baked in the cake" from Ronald Reagan. When Reagan left the White House in January 1989, the deficit was $150 billion and forecast to decline gradually till it reached $110 billion in 1995. The CBO concluded that continued deficit reduction would occur if Bush (and Darman) simply left fiscal policy on automatic pilot.

The Left is trying to suggest that the Bush and Clinton tax hikes contributed mightily to the decline in the deficit

Instead, we got Bush's infamous reversal on "no new taxes" and a 1990 budget package that dealt a body blow to an already ailing economy and sent the deficit into the stratosphere. From 1990 to 1995 the national debt soared $622 billion above the levels anticipated in 1989. Richard Darman's enduring legacy to the nation is this: 1990–94 was the worst five-year deficit performance since World War II. Now really, how hard has it been for Clinton to improve on that rotten fiscal record?

The Left is now again busy trying to rewrite history to suggest that the Bush 1990 and the Clinton 1993 tax hikes contributed mightily to the decline in the deficit. The top marginal income-tax rate has risen by 50 per cent—from 28 per cent in 1989 to 42 per cent this year. Yet federal revenues grew faster in the 1980s with Reagan's substantial across-the-board tax cut than during the 1990s with these two giant tax hikes.

Overall real federal revenues (1982 to 1989) grew by 24 per cent during the seven-year period after the Reagan tax cuts took full effect. But (as currently forecast by the Congressional Budget Office) overall federal revenue growth from 1990 through 1997 will be only 18.5 per cent. If federal revenues had grown in the 1990s at only the pace they did after the Reagan tax cuts, federal receipts in 1996 would be almost $50 billion greater and the deficit would be one-third smaller.

Income-tax receipts after adjusting for inflation rose by 16.3 per cent in the seven years after the full Reagan tax cut. Income-tax receipts will have climbed by 16.1 per cent in real terms in the seven years since 1990.

So where is the evidence that these tax increases actually raised revenues?

If tax hikes don't account for the lowering of the deficit, what does? America's victory in the Cold War. (The extent of Bill Clinton's contribution to that effort was in obtaining draft deferments.) In the 1980s the nation invested $2 trillion on the Reagan military build-up to vanquish the Evil Empire—perhaps the only truly successful government program of the last half-century. Now we are rapidly demilitarizing, creating a vast budget windfall. Over the past eight years the Pentagon's budget has fallen by almost $110 billion in real terms. How's this for a coincidence: that's almost precisely how much the real budget deficit has fallen over that period.

Normally in post-war years the United States Government not only moves immediately back to a balanced-budget regime, but cuts taxes and then runs budget *surpluses* to begin paying off the wartime debt. In the post–Cold War 1990s none of those things have happened. No tax cut. No balanced budget. No liquidation of the debt. Instead defense cutbacks have helped camouflage a sustained non-defense spending build-up. Between 1989 and 1995, real defense outlays have fallen by one-third, while everything else we spend money on—from peanut subsidies to the Mark Hatfield Memorial Courthouse in Portland—has climbed by $300 billion, or 30 per cent. Last year federal spending on non-defense programs consumed 18 per cent of national output, a larger share than at any previous time in American history. The nanny state is alive and well in America.

So much so that we can now add the most recent and depressing entry to the Clinton fiscal chronology:

—In July 1996 the CBO announces that the Clinton deficit-reduction honeymoon is over. After 1997, the Clinton baseline outlook steadily deteriorates in every year for the next decade. Then the government's finances implode. Runaway entitlement expenditures—particularly for Medicare and Medicaid—ravage the budget. The CBO predicts that unless transfer payments are curtailed the nation faces a future of "unsustainably high levels of federal borrowing," with the national debt ascending relentlessly from 60 per cent of national output today, to 150 per cent by 2025.

Thank you, Bill Clinton. □

Cost-Benefit Paralysis

THOMAS HOPKINS

THE 1990s have been the decade of re-regulation. Last year, although they may not be aware of it, American households, workers, and businesses spent $670 billion to comply with federal regulation. These estimates do not even include the costs paid by the Federal Government itself. Total regulatory costs fell in constant 1995 dollars under Jimmy Carter's and Ronald Reagan's Presidencies from $650 billion in 1977 to about $550 billion in 1988. But the costs have risen relentlessly during the Presidencies of George Bush and Bill Clinton. Costs as a percentage of GDP now hover in the 9 to 10 per cent range.

The most comprehensive way to place the regulatory burden in perspective is to note that every American household would be billed nearly $7,000 annually, in addition to the taxes we all pay, if all federal regulatory compliance costs were shared equally and collected directly. Most of the public debate about the cost of government focuses on taxes, and yet the total compliance cost of regulation is nearly half the cost of direct taxes. And the burden of government on the private sector is just as real whether it takes the form of taxes paid, time consumed, or business spending mandated. Regulations and mandates are popular with politicians precisely because they are forms of stealth taxation.

Regulatory costs have soared by roughly $1,000 per household (in real

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terms) since the end the Reagan Presidency and are projected to rise by at least another $500 per household by the end of the decade unless the regulatory juggernaut in Washington is stopped.

The major explanation for declining regulatory costs in the 1980s was a repeal of many of the most unjustifiable price and entry controls (often called economic regulation)—which were the dominant forms of regulation two decades ago. These costs shrank considerably thanks to deregulatory efforts of the Carter and Reagan Administrations, notably in energy, transportation, and financial services. Freeing up markets produced major consumer savings in our trucking, rail, airlines, banking, natural-gas, and oil industries. Yet even with this progress, economic regulations still represent roughly a third of the total regulatory burden in the U.S. (and loom even larger in Western Europe). The 1996 minimum-wage law (not yet factored into the cost projections given above) serves as a reminder that economic regulation remains enticing to politicians.

A study shows that half the recent environmental, health, and safety regulations fail a cost–benefit test

Why the rapidly escalating costs in the 1990s under Bush and Clinton? The major area of increasing regulatory costs has been environmental protection. Environmental and risk-reduction spending doubled in real terms from 1985 to 1995, with the pace accelerating after 1988. Major new laws aimed at pollution control led to a flood of regulation, whose costs will continue to ratchet upward beyond 2000 because of the phasing in of ever more draconian requirements. In the Bush years new Clean Air Act amendments were joined by regulatory initiatives in other social areas such as disabilities and civil rights.

Under Bill Clinton the pace of new regulations has not been as frenetic as it was during the Bush years, but still the net burden has increased since 1993. Clinton has signed into law a family-leave act and the 90-cent hike in the minimum wage—a classic "barrier to entry" regulation that victimizes very low-skilled workers. Meanwhile, many of the regulatory agencies—including the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)—are now headed by Clinton appointees who have aggressively expanded their regulatory reach.

Regulation is not, of course, a bad thing, per se. The real issue is whether we are getting good and effective regulations, whose benefits exceed their costs. For many of the torrent of regulations imposed in the Bush and Clinton years the answer appears to be "no." A recent study by economist Robert Hahn of the American Enterprise Institute concludes that half the environmental, health, and safety regulations adopted since 1990 fail a cost–benefit test. This would be of limited significance if regulatory compliance costs in the aggregate were small, but they clearly are not.

Various efforts have been mounted over the years to deter economically inefficient regulation. Throughout the 1980s and '90s, every President has ordered his regulators to analyze benefits and costs of significant new rules.

Unfortunately, a very large segment of regulatory costs is beyond the reach of an Executive Order. The regulatory agencies are essentially independent fiefdoms when it comes to most price and entry regulations; and most paperwork regulation is related to tax compliance. Traditionally, neither has received close scrutiny by the White House.

The new Republican Congress tried to mandate a more rational regulatory structure by requiring cost–benefit analysis for all new regulations. Bill Clinton adamantly opposed that idea and lobbied to help defeat it. By doing so he has vastly increased the likelihood that, as in the first half of this decade, the economy will be hit by an onslaught of more wealth-destroying and ineffective federal regulations in the late 1990s. □

'Tis Pity She's a Commissar

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHERE was the nation's First Stepmother when, according to the best liberal opinion, the future of America's children was being destroyed by the passage of welfare reform? The welfare-rights coalition and Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman were frantically lobbying the White House for a presidential veto. In their effort to influence the President, NOW members even launched a hunger strike (and they might just have caught his eye if they had slimmed down). But while this pitched battle was going on, Hillary Clinton—missing in action.

Yet the First Lady, whose public life has been ostentatiously dedicated to the well-being of children, has curiously escaped being held to account by her liberal allies. She may have persuaded them that she was pleading their case behind closed doors, but it's more likely that Edelman and Co. recognize what one liberal advocate in Arkansas reluctantly concluded long ago: "We learned not to expect anything of Hillary. What was the one thing she would go to the wall for? Bill's Presidency."

Yet with the Administration deeply divided over whether or not to sign the welfare bill, there's little doubt that Hillary's influence would have been decisive. Richard Reeves enjoyed lunch at the White House with the Clintons recently and reported that the President glanced guiltily at Hillary to seek permission before ordering a piece of blueberry pie. If Hillary controls Bill's pastry consumption, she certainly could have prevented him from swallowing the distasteful gruel of welfare reform. But although Hillary has been committed to spending other people's money on behalf of liberal causes, she has been

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unwilling to spend Bill's political capital to advance the agenda. In the Clinton household, politics counts for more than principles and even friendship (just ask Lani Guinier).

Confronted with the First Lady's unprecedented unpopularity—the latest polls show her favorability rating below sea level (30 per cent)—one defender argues that Hillary makes us uncomfortable because she is so good. Ruth Rosen, professor of history at the University of California at Davis, explains that Hillary is "the perfect scapegoat because she has a moral compass and is not afraid to follow it."

In fact, Hillary's compass always pointed straight to the White House. Betsy Wright, Clinton's chief of staff when he was governor, speculates that the Clintons thought that Bill could win the Presidency from the time they married. Bill had the vision, Hillary provided the focus and discipline. When his mother had trouble accepting a daughter-in-law whom she regarded as a prickly, unattractive feminist, he reportedly explained: "Look, Ma, I have work to do. I don't need to be married to a sex goddess."

A politically successful partnership with a division of responsibility was formed from Clinton's early days as governor. Bill bobbed about in the centrist waters of Arkansas and joined the moderate Democratic Leadership Council in the mid Eighties. It fell to Hillary, with her collegiate history of liberal activism, to nail down the Democratic base. Hillary accordingly served on the national boards of the Legal Services Corporation, the Children's Defense Fund, and the leftist New World Foundation.

But her espousal of liberal causes was strictly for export. Back home she had shed her maiden name, thick glasses, 15 pounds, and opposition to capital punishment. In particular, her advocacy on behalf of neglected children was a wholesale, out-of-state operation. While she toiled on the national scene urging Congress to live up to its moral responsibilities, the child-welfare system in Arkansas became a national disgrace. Its comparative infant mortality rate increased during her husband's 12-year tenure. But national reputations are not made by small local improvements.

Following Bill Clinton's jarring defeat for re-election in 1980, Hillary was better able to protect her investment in him than in Whitewater. Having already reformed her feminist appearance, she went to work on her irritating tendency to aloofness and superiority. An aide to Governor Clinton explained, "This is a very personal state. Now, for Clinton that empathy is natural. But Hillary learned how to project it."

BUT not convincingly. Her sense of superiority is still apparent. People aren't having trouble—as Ann Lewis endlessly insists they are—reconciling themselves to a new kind of First Lady who is independent, accomplished, and outspoken. The dislike of the First Lady has nothing to do with people's inability to adjust to "the changing nature of women's roles" or with any discomfort we mortals might feel when confronted by the noble and virtuous. People dislike the First Lady because they reasonably resent someone who believes herself to be morally superior to them even as she pursues power and status like the most cynical of politicians.

In short, Hillary Clinton wants to be influential and prominent without the scrutiny and accountability that politicians must endure. She wants to be viewed as having a successful, independent career while having traded on her influence and access as the governor's wife. Her formidable skills of advocacy are used to attack Bill's opponents, who can't fight back against his wife as they would against the President himself. Above all, she wants the rewards associated with success in the private sector while pursuing political advancement in the foundation world and public sector.

Hillary insists that pro-bono legal work is "the heart and soul of the law," but her own work in the cause of legal aid or children's rights was either compensated or politically useful. The righteous Wellesley graduate who told her fellow students that the "acquisitive, and competitive corporate life . . . is not the way of life for us" earned $129,000 in directors' fees from Arkansas corporations.

Following Bill's defeat in 1980, Hillary was better able to protect her investment in him than in Whitewater

She notes in addition the burden she has carried to support the family. When questioned about apparent influence peddling, conflicts of interest, or cattle futures, she impatiently cites the enormous financial sacrifices the Clintons have made to permit Bill's public service. But while the Clintons were making these sacrifices for the common good in Arkansas, the state's taxpayers footed the bill for food, shelter, servants, and entertainment; the Arkansas state auditor estimated their upkeep cost at $750,000 annually.

Hillary bitterly resents being questioned about such matters. She has always hated the media and now believes the press is becoming "the handmaiden of the Right," no less. But the press rises above it, and women journalists in particular would rather burnish the feminist icon than examine its calves of clay. We're told about the unswerving "sense of mission" that has kept Hillary too busy to respond cogently to accusations of improprieties. It's Hillary's "do-good energy" that makes her "fierce and protective."

These warm maternal qualities are not always evident to those who know her well. An admiring friend whose divorce Hillary handled confessed that she was fearful of her own attorney. "I would never cross her," she declares. Hillary encouraged the media to investigate some alleged infidelities of George Bush during the 1992 campaign—that "sense of mission," no doubt. And her temper in general has been well documented. When she advised in her recent book that, in order to stay married, some-

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times "you have to bite your tongue," one can't help wondering if that's in order to improve her aim.

Fortunately, Hillary's brusque self-confidence trumped her pragmatism when it came to reforming the health-care system. This was one reform that wasn't about Bill; it was her baby, to be loved, cherished, and delivered on time. She was fighting not for ClintonCare but for Rodham Rx. Convinced that her efforts had produced a near-perfect product, she would brook no criticism and make no compromise. If Hillary Clinton had a dash of modesty, our health care would probably have been socialized. But she allowed the worst to be the enemy of the bad.

Despite her withdrawal into purdah, Hillary remains the motive force behind ideological liberalism in the White House and the Administration generally. She had a hand in the major liberal appointments, like that of Donna Shalala as Secretary of Health and Human Services. She has salted the agencies with her followers. And she is a presence who inspires awe and even fear in senior aides.

Her legal writings, her Arkansas practice, and her record in the world of legal activism all show her to be a devout believer in the power of government to transform human lives for the better. Her sense of mission, which this belief inspires, allows her to bend the rules—whether in Whitewater or in organizing the White House Health Care Task Force—with a clear conscience. She is one of nature's Commissars. Among New Democrats, that makes her a Lenin in a den of Daniels. But it is her ill fortune to come within a heartbeat of power in a conservative age of diminished expectations for centralized power and what government can achieve.

At first she resisted this truth and tried to push through a total restructuring of health care by the sheer power of presidential authority and her own self-confidence. But she was defeated. And just as after the 1980 Arkansas gubernatorial election, she learned from her defeat. Her prudent silence in the face of welfare reform is one evidence of a lesson learned. Another, as Ramesh Ponnuru (p. 28) points out, is her return to reforming health care by a Fabian policy of gradualism. If Hillary has her way, health care will be socialized little by little, and we won't notice until the trap is sprung. □

Apparatchik Land

RICH LOWRY

ON June 22, 1994, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, to no fanfare whatsoever, issued Interpretative Bulletin 94-1 (IB 94-1). The bulletin applied to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), a 1974 law designed to protect pension funds from reckless managers. Section 404 of the law makes creating benefits for pension beneficiaries the "exclusive purpose" of pension investing. This is the part of ERISA that Reich's bulletin re-interpreted, saying pension-fund managers could consider both the interests of beneficiaries and secondary benefits to other parties when investing pension funds. A hard-to-follow exercise in bureaucratic minutiae? Well, yes. Insignificant? No. Interpretative Bulletin 94-1 was an opening shot in a Clinton Administration policy offensive potentially as radical in scope as its health-care plan, an attempt to tap into a portion of the nation's $3.5 trillion in private pension-money funds to advance its social agenda.

The re-interpretation of ERISA, and the supporting efforts surrounding it, exemplify the way the Clinton Administration has tweaked regulations and interpretations of law to make policy advances; the way its mid-level personnel has agitated for an agenda at odds with the Administration's public, centrist pose; and the cozy relationship between the Clinton Executive Branch and the activist Left. The Executive Branch and the larger federal bureaucracy by themselves—without grandiose legislative proposals or high-profile public advocacy—provide endless opportunities for prosecuting an ideological agenda and protecting the cold political interests of a President. This most political Administration has taken every opportunity afforded it, prospering in Washington's legal and bureaucratic thickets.

The Clinton Administration re-interpreted ERISA so as to clear the way for so-called Economically Targeted Investments (ETIs). A long-time favorite of the Left, the thrust of ETIs is to steer private pension funds to public purposes (investments in public housing, infrastructure projects, jobs programs, etc.). For the Left, ETIs are a handy way to control middle-class dollars—diverting retirement funds from more profitable uses—without an actual tax increase. Clinton, who promoted ETIs in Arkansas, included in his 1992 policy manifesto "Putting People First" a proposal for $80 billion of federal investment in social projects to be leveraged with public and private pensions. Once he took office, his Administration began to push the ETI agenda, beneath headlines and the notice of much of the public.

Assistant Labor Secretary Olena Berg banged the drums across the country for ETIs. A former board member of the California Public Employees Retirement System, which had already gone in big for social investments, she boasted that "This is the beginning of a turning point." In February of 1994 she urged big investors, according to *Business Week*, "to invest the dollars now held by pension funds in ways that create more jobs." HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros, meanwhile, was setting up what he called a "precedent-setting initiative to attract pension-fund investments to housing for low-income people"; six pension funds agreed to invest in affordable housing projects with $100 million in federal backing. After the Administration issued IB94-1 in June of 1994, it also set up a federal "clearinghouse" to showcase successful social investments.

The pedigree of ETIs—Miss Berg herself calls them "a radical notion"—has been documented by the Joint Economic Committee (JEC), which has worked aggressively to expose the Clinton offensive on pensions. A moving force behind the idea is the Center for Policy Alternatives (CPA), a socialistic spin-off of the radical Institute for Policy Studies. CPA has flacked tirelessly for ETIs at least since 1990. In the Clinton Administration, it finally had a sympathetic ear. A CPA conference on the idea in 1995 drew some half-dozen Administration participants. CPA's "public capital program" manager tells of working closely with Administration

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officials on ETIs. Indeed, the idea of a clearinghouse had been proposed by CPA, and the Administration initially even selected the organization as the contractor for the project.

All this has effectively been shut down by Rep. Jim Saxton (R., N.J.), vice chairman of the JEC, who sponsored a bill that passed by a wide margin, repealing Reich's IB 94-1 and abolishing the clearinghouse. The pension issue is a natural for the GOP, and Democrats sense it. But the feckless Sen. Nancy Kassebaum has sat on a companion bill in the Senate. Which is par for the course: the Administration pushing to the limits on behalf of its agenda, while Republicans pull up short on the counterattack. "They're chillingly pragmatic about all this, realizing that they can't advance the liberal parts of their agenda publicly so they find imaginative ways to try to do it anyway," says one House aide. There have been a number of underground ways the Administration has continued a liberal march without much attention, manipulating the bureaucracy and advancing its agenda by stealth. If declaring the end of "the era of big government" is the Clinton Administration by day, this is it by night.

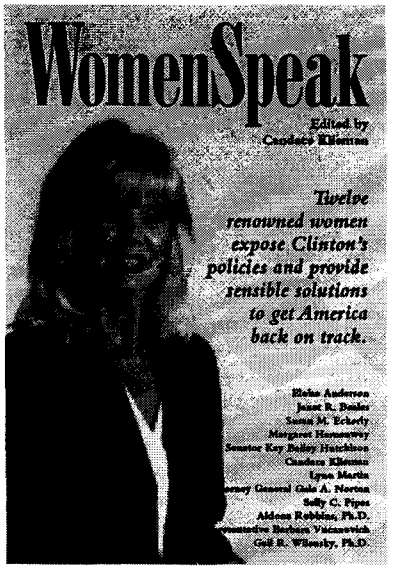
If declaring the 'era of big government' over is the Clinton Administration by day, this is it by night

Take RU-486. Abortion is one of the issues on which Clinton can't leave the Left—despite the "rare" rhetoric—so he was eager to deliver on the "abortion pill." In January of 1993 Clinton wrote HHS Secretary Donna Shalala—FDA Commissioner David Kessler's boss—a memo asking HHS to promote the "testing, licensing, and manufacturing" of the drug. Kessler had pre-emptively reacted to the pressure five weeks after the 1992 elections, unilaterally reversing Bush Administration policy. He wrote to RU-486's manufacturer, Roussel Uclaf, prodding it to apply for approval in the U.S. ("further clinical trials may not be required," he added helpfully). Everybody all around got the hints—Kessler doing Clinton's bidding to save his job, Roussel Uclaf doing Kessler's bidding to avoid future run-ins. RU-486 is slated for FDA approval as early as September, and the Clinton Administration will have provided America with the drug as surely as if it had sponsored legislation to do so.

FEDERAL departments, meanwhile, have become touchstones for the organized Left and agents for advancing a PC agenda otherwise seen only on college campuses. The EPA, for instance, is a breeding ground for self-perpetuating activism. Since 1993, according to a GAO report, grants awarded for workshops, conferences, and non-scientific studies—mostly the province of environmental advocacy groups—have nearly doubled, from roughly $130 million to about $250 million. The American Association of Retired Persons has received some $40 million in 23 different grants since 1993; the Environmental Defense Fund has grabbed $1.8 million. Meanwhile, despite an amendment to the Family and Medical Leave Act introduced by Sen. Don Nickles (R., Okla.) stipulating that it wouldn't apply to domestic partners, the EPA includes domestic partners in its own leave plan. EPA chief Carol Browner proudly cited the policy in an e-mail celebrating June as Gay and Lesbian Pride Month—"In Headquarters, and in some Regional Offices, activities are being organized by the Chapters of the Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual Employees (GLOBE) of EPA. Please join them . . ."

More broadly, the Administration has made full use of the propaganda power of the executive branch (see Christina Hoff Sommers, next page). The Civil Service subcommittee of the House Reform and Oversight Committee under Rep. John Mica (R., Fla.) has documented an Administration effort to "roll out" a weekly message through the public-affairs offices of federal departments, including those in field offices nationwide. (Veterans Affairs, Labor, and the EPA seem to be heavily involved.) "It's putting hundreds of government employees at work flacking for you all over the country," says a House aide. House Reform and Oversight Committee Chairman Bill Clinger (R., Penn.) conducted a May hearing on the Administration's wide-ranging politicization of the federal bureaucracy:

—VA Secretary Jesse Brown included a long "message" on employees' check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stubs. "As I have been telling the nation's veterans organizations this summer," Brown wrote, "the Administration's [budget] plan is much better for veterans and their families."

—In February 1995 an internal EPA e-mail discussed how "Enviros are looking for some help in the conference committee on unfunded mandates," and suggested what the agency could do to support their lobbying.

—A state director of the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management wrote a letter last year advising public-land constituents of the department's opposition to a GOP grazing bill and inviting them "to come together to work for the health of the public lands and the long-term economic stability of the West." Cabinet Secretaries can certainly take positions on public issues, but their departments aren't supposed to be arms of a permanent political campaign.

Unions have been an integral part of this campaign too. Federal public-employee unions were kept apprised of crucial early strategy meetings organized by the Treasury Department to prepare for the looming budget crisis in 1995 (the meetings, again, were uncovered by Saxton's Joint Economic Committee). Ordinarily, public-employee unions would be concerned about a government shutdown and Treasury's planned raid on their pension trust funds during it. Instead, the unions eagerly participated in the Administration's shut-down strategy. "We will be 'ON THEIR CASE AND IN THEIR FACE,' " the American Federation of Government Employees president wrote of GOP freshmen in an August 1995 letter to members, well in advance of any shutdown. "The question is not whether we work, but in what kind of America we will work." The Administration has paid back the unions for their loyalty. The Office of Personnel Management provided names and home addresses of its employees—a clear breach of their privacy—to the unions representing them. Mica's subcommittee discovered an OMB letter confirming that other federal agencies would be doing the same.

There is a certain virtuosity to all this. The Democrats simply are more comfortable with power than the Republicans. That's why the Clinton Administration can—after some initial stumbles—push and pull all the political levers like an expert lathe operator. Two other factors are at work as well. One is necessity. The political imperative in the current environment is to move, as Ralph Reed once famously said of the Christian Coalition, "quietly, with stealth, under cover of night." The other is lack of scruple. The Administration reflects the Clintons' ruthlessness in pursuit of power. The theme of former Republican officials brought to Capitol Hill to testify on Clinton Administration practices is always: We never would have done that, we couldn't have gotten away with it. Well, for whatever reason, the Clinton Administration can. For Republicans, the reward for their virtue is in heaven. The reward for the Clintonites' shamelessness may well be in a second term. □

A Feminist Camelot

CHRISTINA HOFF SOMMERS

ON March 21, 1995, President Clinton told the American public that according to the FBI a woman is battered every 12 seconds. He added further that 700,000 women annually are victims of rape or attempted rape. These alarmingly high but bogus figures are the product of feminist advocacy research. The FBI does not even keep figures on domestic violence; and the 700,000 figure is more than double the number arrived at by the most thorough and methodologically rigorous crime survey in the country, the Bureau of Justice Statistics National Crime Victimization Survey. Within hours, the White House press secretary, Michael McCurry, apologized for the President's use of the unsubstantiated domestic-violence factoid. "We want to take back that statistic." McCurry did not explain why the President chose to cite advocacy figures on rape instead of relying on the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The truth is that Clinton is surrounded by statistically challenged feminist activists whose numbers he credits. The larger truth is that the Clinton Administration is a feminist Camelot.

Consider the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Academic feminists take it as a tenet of faith that most women, under patriarchy, lead lives of quiet desperation. So when a respected mainstream philanthropic group, the Commonwealth Fund, using the polling firm Louis Harris and Associates, came out in 1993 with the finding that each week 40 per cent of American women are "severely depressed," feminists around the country were electrified. They felt vindicated. Finally, someone was telling the truth about women's misery.

But few were more excited than Secretary Donna Shalala. She is a matron saint of the women's movement. Back in the days when she was president of Hunter College she helped to develop its women's-studies program into one of the premier centers of feminist theory in the country. She attended the press conference in which the Commonwealth/Harris poll findings were announced and noted, "For too long, health care [and] health research has been addressed from one point of view, the white male point of view." The idea that "white male" norms compromise scientific research is commonplace in women's studies textbooks; but the press conference, July 14, 1993, was probably the first time it had ever been given credence by a high government official.

Of course, the sensational finding that 40 per cent of American women are "severely depressed" turned out to be preposterous. According to the National Institute of Mental Health's *Psychiatric Disorders in America,* the yearly prevalence of severe depression is 2.2 per cent for men and 5.0 per cent for women; indeed, the very same Harris poll also found 82 per cent of women "enjoying life most of the time." I asked an official at Louis Harris and Associates to explain the discrepancy, and she referred me to Lois Hoeffler, the principal researcher, who has since left them. When I inquired of Miss Hoeffler how she had arrived at the 40 per cent depression figure in the face of the finding that women were enjoying life most of the time, she candidly told me she was very concerned that the Harris study

Professor Sommers, who teaches philosophy at Clark University, is the author of Who Stole Feminism? *She is on the advisory board of the Independent Women's Forum.*

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not be just another study reflecting "white male norms" of research, adding that in her work for Louis Harris and Associates and the Commonwealth Fund she was doing her best to counter "phallocentric bias." I was not surprised to find that she had specialized in feminist theory at Hunter College. According to one Washington, D.C., researcher to whom I recently spoke: "Under Secretary Shalala, Health and Human Services has been mobilized as the research and policy arm of the feminist movement." And, indeed, HHS now has a small army of Lois Hoefflers who are producing advocacy statistics just as misleading as the 40 per cent depression figure.

HHS houses the Office on Women's Health (OWH), which sends out "Fact Sheets" and brochures on the condition of women. One typical brochure entitled "Women's Health Issues" opens by treating women's health problems as due to "bias."

> In recent years, heightened awareness of longstanding biases against women . . . has catalyzed an expanded focus on women's issues. [HHS] is pursuing a comprehensive and meaningful agenda for women's health to redress these past inequities.

Once research is liberated from "male norms," its findings reveal "inequities" to which women in our sexist society are subjected. Among them, OWH cites the following:

—An estimated 30 per cent of emergency-room visits by women each year are the result of injuries from domestic violence.

—Homicide is the leading killer of women in the workplace.

—In 1991, homicide was the second leading cause of death among all women 15 to 24.

—Suicide was the third leading cause of death among 15-to-24-year-old white women in 1991.

The homicide and suicide statistics promote an image of American women as menaced and vulnerable. But from the Bureau of Labor Statistics we learn that in 1994, 887 men were murdered while on the job. The figure for women was 184 (83 per cent men and 17 per cent women). And while it is true that homicide is the second leading cause of death among all women 15 to 24, it is misleading to suggest that women, rather than men, are being targeted. In 1991 1,128 young women 15 to 24 were murdered; but for males in the same age group, the figure was 8,251. The suicide statistic is similarly misleading. In 1991, there were 602 suicides among young white women 15 to 24; for young white men in that age group it was 3,476. The average total annual deaths from all causes for this age group is approximately 8,000 for females and 25,000 for males.

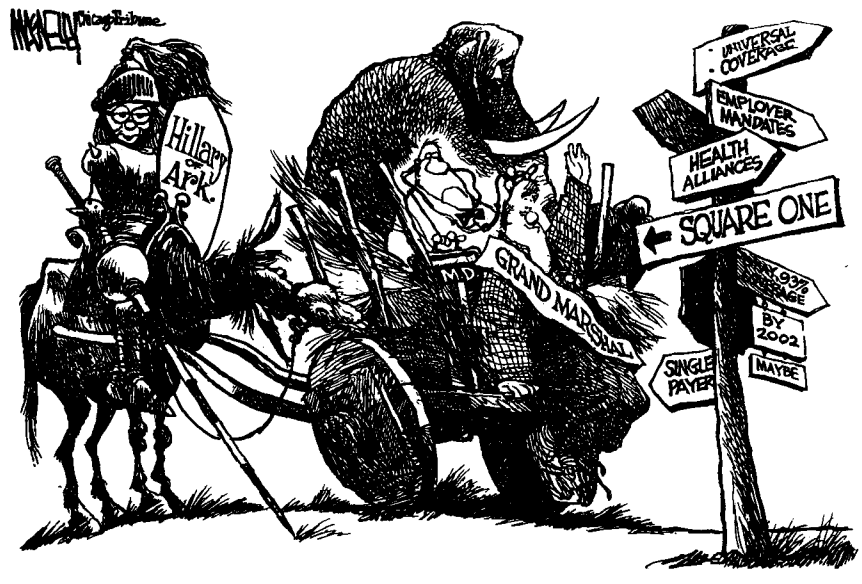
The Office of Women's Health does not explain why male deaths are ignored or why female deaths are the result of "inequities" or gender bias or why any of these bleak facts are health issues.

Perhaps the closest thing to a statistic that could be relevant to women's special vulnerability is the claim that "an estimated 30 per cent of emergency-room visits by women each year are the result of injuries from domestic violence." However, responsible studies show that nationwide the correct figure is closer to 2 per cent. Though it is required practice to do so, the Office on Women's Health at HHS sees no need to footnote claims. I called the Office on Women's Health and asked for the source for the 30 per cent figure. I was referred to one Frances Page, a Senior Analyst. She said: "I have no idea where the statistics are from. The person responsible has left. When the fact sheet was done she surely had all the information. You might try the AMA." When I ventured to ask whether there was an Office of Men's Health or whether there was an office of HHS that was tracking the health of teen-age boys, she told me that men's or boys' offices were not needed: "I am asked that all the time and my answer is always the same: All the other offices deal with men—even NIH studies only male rats."

Secretary of Labor Robert Reich is another feminist favorite. He describes Susan Faludi's *Backlash* as "spellbinding and frightening . . . a wake-up call to the men as well as the women who are struggling to build a gender-respectful society." That Mr. Reich could be impressed by Miss Faludi's paranoid screed suggests that his critical judgment fails him when it comes to feminist ideology. The suggestion is borne out when we see how his department favors feminist misinformation over sound information.

On October 14, 1994, Secretary Reich and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton joined Karen Nussbaum—then Director of the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department—in a White House press conference announcing the results of a study entitled *Working Women Count! A Report to the Nation.* According to Secretary Reich, "The portrait of American women that has emerged is compelling, vibrant, diverse, but shows us how much work we have to do to remove hurdles from women's paths." Mrs. Clinton weighed in with, "This is not the run-of-the-mill survey. This is the experts themselves—working women—telling us what we need to do."

The message of *Working Women Count!* was strongly negative and was so reported: "They are underpaid and angry" (Associated Press); "Women not given tools to make it" (*Atlanta Consti-*



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tution); "Many women still feel that they are not getting the pay, benefits, or recognition they deserve, according to a new survey conducted by the Federal Government" (*New York Times*). According to the Nussbaum "findings" American women are angry at "not getting a fair deal." Sixty per cent reported having experienced stress. Almost half complained: "I do not get paid what I think my job is worth."

The Department of Education dispenses much largesse to activists in the rapidly growing gender-bias industry

Although she was neither an economist nor a statistician, Karen Nussbaum, a Clinton appointee, had designed the survey. Her "report to the nation" on working women was based on the responses to a questionnaire devised by her and distributed to an estimated ten million women. The 2 per cent who returned the questionnaire answered questions like, "If you could tell President Clinton one thing about what it is like to be a working woman, what would it be?" and "Do you like your job overall?"

Notwithstanding the confidence displayed by Mrs. Clinton and Reich, Nussbaum's survey is statistically meaningless. The women who chose to respond are what pollsters call "self-selected." Polls and surveys using self-selected responses are known as SLOPs (self-selected listener opinion polls). Tom W. Smith, a director at the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, points out that SLOPs are shunned by all responsible researchers because they virtually "insure biased responses." Mr. Smith was especially surprised to hear that this particular SLOP had been done under the auspices of the Labor Department. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has an enviable reputation among social scientists for producing scientifically rigorous and reliable surveys. Yet, for reasons best known to themselves Karen Nussbaum and her staff chose to do their "Report to the Nation" without availing themselves of its expertise.

Miss Nussbaum did supplement her SLOP with a more standard procedure, querying some 1,200 randomly selected women by telephone. But Mr. Smith pointed out that here too the method was fatally flawed. Had the Bureau of Labor Statistics been given the task of reporting on working women, it would certainly have insisted that minimally meaningful results could be obtained only if most of the same questions were asked of men as well as women. For it was clear that much of the reported worker dissatisfaction (about pay, about stress) was *not* gender specific.

Who is Karen Nussbaum? Why did President Clinton appoint her as Director of the Women's Bureau, and why did Secretary Reich and the First Lady have her do this study? Here is what feminist scholar Heidi Hartmann said during a political conference organized by *Mother Jones* magazine:

> Karen Nussbaum, who is Director of the Women's Bureau, appointed by Clinton, is so progressive I can't imagine that she could possibly have gotten this job—for those of you who know Karen's political history. So I asked her about that. And she said, "Fortunately, I never write anything down; I don't keep any records, and I also have no memory."

The *Mother Jones* audience was clearly delighted to hear how a canny leftist activist like Karen Nussbaum managed to finesse her radical "political history" to get her influential government appointment. Miss Hartmann ended her talk on an upbeat note, announcing that Miss Nussbaum had directed and just completed a Department of Labor survey on attitudes and needs of working women.

> She [Karen Nussbaum] is coming out tomorrow with the *Working Women Count!* survey which will describe the things that working women in the U.S. want and what they are looking to the Administration for.

Although Secretary Reich's endorsement of the Nussbaum study as "compelling" cannot be taken as a judgment of its *scientific* merits, it can be taken as praise for its political impact. As Dr. William Lyons, a political scientist at the University of Tennessee said about the survey: "It's a worthless project as far as social science anyway. As some kind of lobbying it may be very effective." Miss Nussbaum, who has since left the Clinton Administration, said, "The results of this questionnaire can inform policy-making for years to come." It probably will.

The Department of Education dispenses much largesse to activists in the rapidly growing gender-bias industry. One program, a special favorite with the network of feminist pedagogues, self-esteem workshoppers, gender-equity trainers, and harassment experts, is the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA). Of the millions of dollars awarded in December of 1995, $139,126 went to Merle Froschl from "Educational Equity Concepts." Miss Froschl intends to "conduct research on gender-based teasing and bullying in grades kindergarten through 5." Nan Stein, from the Wellesley College

GOTTA HAND IT TO THESE NON-ESSENTIAL FEDERAL WORKERS... THEY HAVE AWESOME SURVIVAL SKILLS.
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWNS

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Center for Research on Women, is another expert on schoolyard harassment. Miss Stein, who coined the phrase "gendered terrorists" to refer to little boys who flip girls' skirts, has already done a SLOP harassment study for *Seventeen* magazine. Now, thanks to a $90,929 grant from WEEA, she can do yet another one. WEEA is also responsible for dozens of programs and guidebooks on how to make textbooks "gender fair"—translation: how can we airbrush white males of genius from the curriculum. These materials are disseminated through an "Equity Resource Center."

Congress recently defunded WEEA. But intervention from feminist activists, Education Secretary Richard Riley, and others in the Clinton Administration, helped to secure for WEEA an eleventh hour reprieve. Unless stopped in the Senate, it will be funded.

Ironically, the Office of Research Integrity, which is charged with investigating fraudulent research, is a department of HHS. It has recently come into the public eye for its overzealous prosecution of "white male norm" scientists like Nobel Prize–winner David Baltimore and Thereza Imanishi-Kari. Needless to say, it is not about to turn its attention to the dishonest advocacy projects in its own back yard that misuse statistics to show that women are mistreated in our society and in need of the expert help of feminist activists. Secretary Reich's *Working Women Count!*, Shalala's "fact sheets," and the "research" disseminated by the Department of Education's Equity Resource Center are typical examples of government misinformation that serves a fashionable political ideology.

When it comes to feminist distortions, Secretaries Shalala, Reich, and Riley, and even President Clinton, seem to lose their critical faculties. This is not a healthy state of affairs. Because the probity and reliability of reports from government agencies are essential to the workings of democracy, preserving the trustworthiness of information that people routinely get from their government is something each Administration is charged to do. Unfortunately, the current Administration is allowing advocacy to override integrity. □

Their Charity, Your Home

JAMES BOVARD

FOR two years, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros has been hounded by a special prosecutor, examining whether he lied to FBI agents about payments to his mistress before being confirmed for his current position. The shadow of the prosecutor has hung over most of Cisneros's tenure at HUD—in the same way that Republican axes have hung over many of the nation's housing programs. However, as yet, neither the prosecutor nor the Republican legislators have struck, and mischief—little noticed, but with huge potential implications—has continued apace at one of Washington's most noxious bureaucracies.

Mr. Bovard is the author of Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty *(St. Martin's) and* Shakedown *(Viking).*

In fact, HUD would like to bring some of it to a neighborhood near you. Mr. Cisneros issued a report earlier this year proclaiming that public housing was a failure because it "concentrates the very poor." The solution: continue housing subsidies but instead scatter the recipients. Secretary Cisneros is calling for more "income integration" in American cities and suburbs. Indeed, he called economic integration an "overarching objective" and, as the *Washington Post* noted, "ordered his agency to advance economic integration at every policy or program opportunity." According to the Clinton Administration, America is suffering a great injustice because people who do not work cannot afford middle-class housing.

Through the Section 8 rental-subsidy program, HUD is giving some poor people the keys to the best apartments in town—and sending the bill to the middle class. Under Section 8, housing-welfare recipients pay 30 per cent of their income (which may be zero or very low) toward an apartment, and the Federal Government kindly picks up the rest of the rent. In addition, HUD sets

HUD is giving some poor people the keys to the best apartments in town—and sending the bill to the middle class

Section 8 subsidy levels ("fair market rents") for each city or county in the country; the amount of the subsidy determines where the housing-welfare recipient can live. Not surprisingly, HUD has been extremely generous with other people's money. For instance, it will pay up to $1,771 a month for welfare recipients to live on the island of Nantucket, Massachusetts.

In the Washington, D.C. area, HUD will pay up to $1,303 per month for rent for welfare recipients; however, in some of the counties around Washington, there are almost no apartments that rent for such a high price. In Stamford, Connecticut, HUD will pay up to $1,540 a month; in Los Angeles, it will pay out $1,375 a month. The top HUD subsidy levels in some areas are far higher than the rent paid by the vast majority of working Americans. Section 8 certificates are entitling welfare families to move into an apartment complex in Silver Spring, Maryland, that includes a heated pool with water jets, microwave ovens, and "deluxe modern kitchens with convenient breakfast bars."

Cisneros has hitched his wagon to Section 8—and is refusing to admit the destruction the program causes in working class neighborhoods. The *Baltimore Sun* recently noted, "In an area where many houses ordinarily could be leased for under $350, the poor families' $600-a-month housing vouchers have made renting to Section 8 tenants so profitable many speculators are no longer interested in ordinary working-class renters." On the other hand, not only do Section 8 recipients receive a large financial windfall, but HUD forces

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landlords to treat Section 8 renters better than renters who pay their own bills. Cleveland landlord Susie Rivers observed: "Every time you say, 'Section 8,' the first thing a person will think is 'bad tenant.' They say, 'Here is somebody that will destroy my property.'" HUD decreed that landlords can require only a $50 security deposit from Section 8 renters—instead of the usual full month's rent required for unsubsidized renters.

Secretary Cisneros says, "There are almost no cases in America where people resist Section 8." But when plans were announced in Chicago in 1994 for an expanded program to export public-housing residents out of the city limits, dozens of mayors of surrounding towns and villages staunchly opposed the proposal. The image of violence has become so widely associated with Section 8 in some areas that a Washington, D.C. rap band even named itself the "Section 8 Mob." HUD in 1994 announced a special program to fight crime in and around Section 8 housing complexes. Unfortunately, the initiative consists largely of recommendations that local HUD officials, residents, and politicians form task forces to meet and discuss the problem. HUD's own studies show that crime rates in public-housing projects are up to 20 times higher than the national average.

HUD doesn't take criticism of its policies lightly. It has sought to intimidate and financially destroy critics in recent years. The Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988 added drug addicts, alcoholics, and the mentally disabled to "protected groups" covered by the federal Fair Housing Act. As a result, HUD now claims that criticizing group homes for people in those categories can be a violation of federal law. In Berkeley, California, HUD officials in late 1993 issued a subpoena to three residents who had complained about plans to convert a ratty-looking motel next to a liquor store into a home for alcoholics and mentally disabled AIDS patients. A federally funded fair-housing activist organization complained to HUD about the group's action, and HUD launched a full-scale investigation of the three. HUD in November 1993 demanded to see any letters they had written to public officials or newspapers, any petitions, names, addresses, and phone numbers of anyone who had indicated support for the group's efforts. "The threat was we could be fined $100,000 and jailed if we didn't give them the information they wanted," said John Deringer, one of the residents. "It was chilling." After a tornado of publicity in August 1994, HUD backed down—but only after Assistant

New Girls' Network

FOUNDED in 1989, Ervin and Associates, a contracting firm based in Bethesda, Md., and specializing in affordable housing, more than tripled in size in its first five years. In July, 1994 its work was commended by Assistant Secretary for Housing Nicholas Retsinas in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Employment, Housing, and Aviation. Following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, the company raised over $165,000 to help the families of HUD employees who lost their lives. On John Ervin's office wall hangs a framed picture of his staff with HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros to mark the occasion, and a letter from the Secretary notes, "The HUD family will always be grateful for your kindness."

Well, maybe not "always." Ervin has filed a suit against the department claiming its rampant politicization is running him out of business. Specifically, Ervin charges that the head of HUD's housing division, Helen Dunlap, has steered lucrative federal contract awards—known by industry types as "honey pots"—to her "contractors of choice," in keeping with her animus against white males. Since Miss Dunlap's political appointment in 1994, Mr. Ervin's federal contacts have been cut almost in half, and the firm has had to downsize its full-time staff from 47 to 23. Moreover, Ervin claims, HUD's employment practice reflects an institutional bias. HUD counters that Ervin is a "disgruntled contractor" and that safeguards prevent contract patronage. His suit is pending in D.C.'s district court, but briefs filed by Ervin and documents he has obtained from HUD highlight disturbing practices—blatant hiring quotas, outright hostility to white males, and possibly favoritism in contracts—that go unnoticed in the thicket of the federal bureaucracy.

Mr. Ervin asserts he has been recommended for many contracts by so-called source evaluation boards—panels of career civil servants that are meant to combat patronage—only to see Helen Dunlap "orchestrate" efforts to "bypass the normal procurement processes which are intended to prevent the very abuses" Ervin is being subjected to. In one case, Ervin alleges Miss Dunlap awarded a $30-million asset-management contract to the purportedly "disadvantaged" firm Williams and Adley, breaching a prior contract which Ervin says HUD previously informed him was legally his. Following objections raised by Ervin and career housing-division employees, according to *Housing Affairs Letter*, the HUD inspector general launched an investigation into contract malfeasance by the housing division. Miss Dunlap was demoted from her political appointment as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Multifamily Housing to Deputy Assistant Secretary for Housing Operations.

Despite this, Helen Dunlap reportedly waged a power struggle with her replacement (a white male), holding duplicate staff meetings immediately after his and asserting that she was still in charge and didn't intend to surrender. And she apparently won; she inexplicably regained her jurisdiction over contract awards and, Mr. Ervin claims, vindictively blackballs his firm from obtaining such awards. "They throw the fox out of the hen house and then let it back in," says Ervin.

This attitude carries over into the way Miss Dunlap manages her division. *Housing Affairs Letter* quotes one high-level HUD source who says Dunlap "made many enemies after joining the department." According to anonymous moles in HUD, she refers to the men in her front office as "TOMs," or "Tired Old Males," and has said that "the only fitting position for a male is a secretary." It is not without reason that some of these career employees have

Mr. Dealey is based at NR's Washington office.

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HUD Secretary Roberta Achtenberg sought to explain away the controversy in a *Washington Post* op-ed outlining the need to "balance" the rights to free speech and fair housing.

Another amendment to the Fair Housing Act that the Administration has taken deeply to heart prohibits so-called discrimination against families with children. Rental "discrimination" against children is, in most cases, simply a rational economic decision based on the preferences of existing and would-be tenants. But a Clinton Administration crackdown has had a dire impact on senior-citizen housing communities. Hundreds of thousands of older Americans live in seniors-only apartment houses, mobile-home parks, or communities. Housing communities can be exempted from the mandate to permit children if 80 per cent of the housing units contain at least one person 55 years or older and if the community provides "significant facilities and services specifically designed to meet the physical or social needs of older persons," according to fair-housing law. (Housing can also be exempted if 100 per cent of residents are over age 62.) But vague HUD regulations have become a quicksand for property managers.

Late in 1994, the Justice Department won a court victory, forcing the Windmill Pointe Village Club Association of Orlando, Florida, to pay over $440,000 in damages and penalties for practicing "familial discrimination." After senior housing communities complained of the vagueness of the regulations, HUD issued a massive proposal in the *Federal Register* to specify what senior housing facilities could do to receive a federal exemption from renting to children. Among the examples that HUD gives of "significant services and facilities" that might permit an apartment building or mobile-home park to receive government permission to be adults-only were having a staff member assigned to read to the elderly and providing daily aerobic and tennis courses. Mandating such services could easily double, triple, or quadruple the rent that old folks pay in mobile-home parks. HUD's regulations could result in effectively banning low- and moderate-income elderly from seniors-only housing (and even if a facility offered all the listed services, HUD indicated that it may still deny its request to be seniors-only).

Late in 1995, Congress passed a law thwarting HUD's seniors crackdown, but it's one of the few instances where the Republicans have stood in the way of the march of HUD's agenda. Which is disturbing. Because in the case of HUD what you don't know will hurt you—and may even wind up living next door. □

been known to call their office a "white boys' hell."

But discrimination is not confined to Helen Dunlap and HUD contracts. Department managers are ranked on how well they achieve cultural diversity within their divisions. They are given evaluations with ratings of Outstanding, Fully Successful, and Unacceptable; an "outstanding" manager "takes actions and makes decisions regarding hiring, promotions, training, upward mobility, recommendations for selection, and other personnel or administrative matters that further the Department's . . . Affirmative Employment Program policies and foster diversity within the HUD workplace." In short, color over merit.

Internal hiring data obtained by John Ervin under the Freedom of Information Act indicate what close attention is paid to "diversity." A chart produced by HUD breaks down each department division by race and gender, noting changes over a six-month cycle. From September 1995 to March 1996, for example, Miss Dunlap's Office of Housing severely cut white men from the better professional and administrative positions (professionals down 10 per cent compared to 1 per cent department-wide).

In a previous analysis by HUD for 1996, the department reported a "manifest imbalance" (representation "substantially below" the civilian labor force) within its housing division in professional Hispanic females, and administrative and technical white females. An accompanying chart entitled "Internal Movement Numerical Objectives" called for 90 "planned" division hirings—20 white females, 20 black females, 20 black males, 10 Hispanic males, 10 Hispanic females, 5 Asian males, and 5 Asian females. Figures for white males were nil.

What is most striking, however, is not that HUD uses quotas in its hiring and promotions, but that the basis for these quotas in divisions across the country appears to be the Civilian Labor Force statistics for Washington, D.C. That is, a district field office in, say, Kansas City must strive to reflect the demographic composition of D.C. workers (the city's population is over 70 per cent minority). Kansas City's HUD field office has a total of five employees at the professional level: three white males, two black males. In a HUD document titled "Assessment of Underrepresentation," the department categorizes all employees by race and gender and suggests in a "number needed" column that Kansas City should hire two white women, two black women, and a male and female each of Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian derivation.

Interestingly, in every assessment of white-male underrepresentation spanning HUD's 10 regions and 79 field offices, there is no "number needed" advisement for more white males.

While Nelson Diaz, head of HUD's office of General Counsel, mandates an obligatory three-and-a-half hour "sensitivity training" seminar for his employees, he apparently could use a little of this himself. According to attendees at a September 22, 1993, meeting of field counsel, Mr. Diaz declared that there are "too many white faces at HUD." Subsequently, attempts were made to remove John Dellera (who is white) as Assistant General Counsel for New York/New Jersey. "I doubted that the reassignment was bona fide and suspected it was an unlawful attempt to coerce my resignation so that Nelson could appoint some political friend to the job," Dellera wrote friends. Diaz replaced Dellera with a female Hispanic—the office was deficient in the Hispanic female professional category, according to HUD reports.

If the department isn't violating the letter of the law after the Supreme Court's *Adarand* decision—which held that race preferences will receive "the strictest judicial scrutiny" and will "seldom provide a relevant basis for disparate treatment"—it certainly violates the spirit. Not that it seems to matter. A May 16, 1996 HUD report dismisses the decision: "*Adarand* did not provide clear judicial precedent on the constitutionality of specific affirmative action/set-aside programs." Until the Supreme Court more clearly defines its guidelines, John Ervin just hopes to stay in the black—despite being a white male trying to do business with Helen Dunlap's HUD. —Samuel Dealey

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The Bully Pulpiteer

HADLEY ARKES

IN THE novel *Primary Colors*, a senior Democratic senator is having an interview with the Bill Clinton figure, called Jack Stanton. It is well along in 1992, after the revelations about Gennifer Flowers and the record of evading the draft. The senior statesman does not know quite what to make of this precocious candidate, who carries about him the pronounced scent of things disreputable. Stanton is good with "the folks"—he thrives on the engagement with ordinary people in a campaign. And he makes a "nice speech." But then the senator turns and says, "I have never seen a politician carry so much trouble around with him. You're like that cartoon character . . . Pigpen. A permanent cloud of dirt follows him around."

Or as the Greeks would have it, character is destiny. Bill Clinton's permanent cloud was no accident; it sprang from something in his character. And when that something was conveyed into the work of a new Administration, it produced the surprises that should have been, by then, no surprise: an Administration that took, as the defining measures of its first moments, positions its leaders had never acknowledged in public or sought to justify in the course of the campaign. A candidate who had offered himself as a New Democrat, more sensitive on social issues, took as his first dramatic initiative an advanced position on gay rights, including gays in the military. A candidate who had lamented abortions, with a vow to make them "rare" as well as legal, moved on his first day in office—in fact, moved even before he was sworn in—to sign executive orders that would sweep away every inhibition on abortion in the federal service. The subsequent stories of Whitewater and Travelgate, of billing records curiously lost and rediscovered, of thuggish aides commandeering files from the FBI—all of it plays out the script of characters straining their meager wit at the project of concealment rather than the task of governing. Indeed, it might be said that the project of concealment was what knitted this team together as its binding purpose. The first thing that must be understood then about Bill Clinton and the bully pulpit is that his Administration was constituted on premises that could not be expressed in public; and the principal genius of his staff was expended in covering up the incidents in his past that would imperil his moral claim to govern.

In June of 1993, I was at dinner with a seasoned Republican congressman, a man much liked on both sides of the aisle, and he remarked that, after the first, rocky months of Clinton's Presidency, his constituents had seen through him. Or they saw him clearly as he was. And what, I asked, did they see? "That he is a man who will lie to them," he said, "as readily as he will look at them." Three years later, when a jury in Little Rock handed down the first convictions of people close to the Clintons, a young reporter could remark on television that this event, though jolting, would have no measurable effect on the public standing of the President. For the public, he said, had long ago "discounted" Mr. Clinton's veracity. That is to say, a large portion of the public has absorbed now, with a serene acceptance, that Bill Clinton is an affable, incorrigible liar, but they have concluded that nothing in his vices threatens any public harm. In one recent survey, about 54 per cent of the public did not think that Bill Clinton could be considered "honest and trustworthy." But the same surveys also reported that about 62 per cent think he has honesty and integrity enough to serve as President. There has evidently been a scaling down. The public has apparently absorbed those premises that were the hallmarks of "modernity": that there may be a separation between politics and morality, between private character and public office, and that a man overflowing with vices may nevertheless have considerable virtues as a public man.

IT became the standard refrain for a while among the Democrats that Clinton's personal life had nothing to do with his competence to deal with his public functions. But that argument quietly evaporated when Paula Jones filed her suit over sexual harassment. For since the outcry over Anita Hill in 1991, it had become a staple of the Left that sexual harassment deserved to be treated seriously, as a wrong claiming a high place in the public concern. With that sentiment kindling, there was a willingness to call forth the indignation of the public when the accusations broke over Sen. Bob Packwood. But when Paula Jones filed her own complaint, the Democrats were compelled to fall mute. They could no longer rail against Packwood and insist on the high significance of his offenses without sharpening the accusation against their own sitting President. It remained for Packwood to be removed from office by an Ethics Committee dominated by his own party. But the experience was quite enough to establish that Clinton's "private" conduct had a deeper public resonance after all. The need to defend Clinton induced his party to recede from an issue that it regarded as central, not peripheral, to the public business. His private troubles did indeed disarm or impair his party in addressing what it thought to be public matters of moral consequence.

Yet, as Madison said, if men were

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angels there would be no need for government. And a public steeped in Christianity has made its allowances for the sinful. (An echo sounds from a lyric of Stephen Sondheim: "And as for being saintly, even faintly . . . no. But who needs Albert Schweitzer when the lights are low? / And oh, oh, oh, can that boy f—oxtrot.") At times it may indeed be true that the people needed urgently in a public mission are not virtuous in all things. That Churchill and Grant were heavy drinkers did not diminish the public need for them when their personal gifts marked them out for a mission that they, distinctly, could perform. If an inspired political man was able to summon the support of the public for a policy of putting abortion "in the course of extinction," the pro-lifers would not be likely to desert him, if it turned out that his private life showed embarrassing lapses. And on the other side, we should not be shocked that the people who are determined to preserve unconstrained rights of abortion in America are quite as determined to cling to Bill Clinton even though his personal life could sustain, by itself, the tabloids at the supermarket.

ALL of that we understand. And all of that we could readily grant: If we could accept Clinton's public purposes, we too might be able to share an urbane laugh over his character. But in his case there is a precise connection between his character and the political culture he represents: his personal libertinism reflects the core of what can be taken these days as liberal jurisprudence—the notion of the "autonomous self," unencumbered by moral restraints, which seeks, as its first freedom, sexual freedom, and as its primary legal support, the right to an abortion. In the "culture war," the moral tradition is set against the ethic of that class that now controls the media, the universities, and the courts; and for all his faults, Bill Clinton is the exquisite reflection of that ethic and that class. In what other Administration could we find a highly placed officer, the deputy general counsel at the Department of Health and Human Services, advancing the proposal for gay marriage, because it would "expose and denaturalize the historical construction of gender at the heart of marriage"? A biped who makes these sounds can find its habitat only in a Democratic Administration. The Left on the campuses may wince when Clinton glides with the public wind and rejects gay marriage. But they are tolerant of his political weaving because they understand that he could never have been elected as a man of the modern American Left.

A biped who makes these sounds can find its habitat only in a Democratic Administration

That difference, between the character of Clinton's policies and the character of his public rhetoric, is the measure of his considerable skill as a political man. He presides over an Administration of the post-McGovern Democrats, yet all that is happily overlooked by Middle America as he plays, with a flourish, on the chords of conventional morality. But how does he do it? How is he believable even for a moment when he strikes moral poses and presumes to engage in moral teaching?

"It should not fly, but behold! It does fly." He should have not the slightest standing to teach anything of moral consequence in public; and yet: he stands and he teaches. Indeed, the logic of his situation is that he cannot do otherwise without appearing defensive and giving the game away. One observer pointed out that Clinton was raised in a gambling town, where he learned early on the art of bluffing, or presenting the "poker face." With his record, he is the last person to be preaching to young people about the virtues of chastity, and yet he preaches. As a man who evaded his obligations to serve in the military, it is clear that he cannot summon the least moral authority to send anyone else into combat. But of course, as Commander-in-Chief, he must be able to do just that. And his strength as a public man seems to reside precisely in his cheekiness, his unflagging willingness to brazen it out.

It is remarked, of course, that Franklin Roosevelt presided over a global war even though he himself had never served in the military. And among present-day Republicans, Dick Cheney and Phil Gramm did not serve, though they were of age during the war in Vietnam. Still, there is something different about a man who used every stratagem to avoid his obligation. There is a moral point here that deserves to be respected even by people who feel an affinity with Clinton over Vietnam: There is a kind of covenant society must have with the men who honored the claims of their own government, and accepted their obligation to serve in the military. They accepted those duties at a certain hazard to themselves, and many of them died. In the aftermath, we may have good reason to wish we had sent none of them into a war that did not command the conviction of the leaders who were directing it. But part of the covenant with the men who served—to use lan-

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guage closer to the ground—is that we don't make *jerks* of them. And that we emphatically do when we show a willingness to honor a man who prospered because he was not foolish enough to risk himself as they did. A public that elects Clinton is engaging in a gesture of contempt for the men who served, and veterans who voted for him are engaging in a gesture of self-contempt.

BUT gamely putting all of that aside, what was Clinton to teach as he took hold of the bully pulpit? What was left? Could we imagine the scene as it must have been at Yale, over twenty years ago, as Bill Clinton, Robert Reich, and their friends would stay up in bull sessions, flexing their powers of conjecture, pondering the ways in which they might lead the country into bold paths of reform once the levers of power were put in their hands, as surely they would be? Could we imagine the moment of insight? "We are going to come out against children smoking!" Or: "We are going to come out against dead-beat dads!" Or: "We are going to come out, forthrightly, unequivocally, against violence, and especially against the freedom to shoot people with assault weapons!"

That could hardly have been the vision that marked their dreams. But it may be the only recipe that is available to the generation that resolved long ago that there were no transcendent moral truths, particularly any truths grounded in "nature." This group can rise to moral teaching mainly by sounding the themes of public pieties, with proposals so wanting in controversy that they would mesh even with the social policies of Joseph Goebbels and his party. They too had an ambitious scheme of allowances for children, and they were headed by a man who was an exemplary figure to the young in his shunning of tobacco. Still, even in this domain, the authority of Mr. Clinton must be equivocal. When he enjoins upon teenagers a life of chastity and abstinence, it clearly cannot be because he would respect that life in principle. In fact, it is hard to see why Mr. Clinton would not approach the problem of teenage smoking in the way that his Administration approaches teenage sexuality: After all, some youngsters will be determined to smoke anyway, as some youngsters will be determined to have sexual relations, and so we might as well provide them with cigarettes containing filter tips.

But of course even the health of children reaches its limit as a moral concern when it runs up against the interests of Mr. Clinton's core constituency. The President's solicitousness for children may be nearly maternal, but it evaporates dramatically when it comes to those children, with legs dangling out of the birth canal, who are the targets of "partial-birth" abortions. That children may become hooked on nicotine has become, for Mr. Clinton, a high public concern. That they may have their skulls crushed and their brains suctioned out, if it suits the interests or "mental health" of the women bearing them, is an injury that does not register. For in the presence of a trumping political interest, that infant simply does not register as a real being, capable of sustaining pain.

In the meantime, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* carefully unfold, over several years, the record of Whitewater, the Rose Law Firm, Webster Hubbell, Filegate. What is revealed is the pattern the editors characterize as "Arkansas mores." The academic degrees may be from Yale, but the style of politics and moral fastidiousness is really Dogpatch U.S.A. But even the editors, worldly as they are, begin to show their puzzlement: The record unfolds and deepens, and yet it triggers no moral outrage in the public. That absence of reaction may itself be the news: namely, that we are dealing with a public shaped now by the changes of the Sixties and the public teaching of *Roe* v. *Wade*. This may be a public coarsened now in its moral sensibility; and there may be nothing any longer in Clinton's repertoire that could stir this public to outrage.

We may well recall that old joke about the lawyer who is promised unbounded success in business and love, to be paid for in the end by the delivery of his soul. And he asks, guardedly, "What's the catch?" The accomplishment of Bill Clinton is that he has made the country into one large lawyer-joke. Clinton has marked off the record of an incorrigible liar, faithless to his wife, who cannot be trusted to honor any law beyond his own interest—and the public says, "Yes—but what is the problem?"

And yet, it may be said on behalf of Mr. Clinton that he is one of the few men on the scene who is suited to the political pulpit, because he is possessed of the most genuine interest in engaging people, wherever he finds them, and joining the argument. On the Republican side he is matched by the likes of Phil Gramm, Bill Bennett, and Pat Buchanan. And when Mr. Clinton goes to church, one has the hunch that he goes because he knows he needs it. But his comings and goings in church also seem to offer another measure of the religious sensibility of our time. Apparently, the religious sense abroad in the land is of a God whose capacity for forgiveness is boundless, and whose demand for contrition is optional. What seems to be left out, conspicuously, is a God who would invite some serious testimony about the plan to amend one's life and confirm it in a new cast. If that understanding of God were dominant in the public mind, people might be moved to ask of Bill Clinton some rather searching questions. But it may be as some of us have begun to suspect, that Mr. Clinton is indeed a representative man of his age. He is, as he is, scaled to the current moral sensibility of the public, and to the notion of God that most people in the country think they can afford. □

It Didn't End With Whitewater

RAEL JEAN ISAAC

IN his acceptance speech at the 1992 Democratic National Convention, Bill Clinton promised zero tolerance for those in government who "cut corners and cut deals." But less than three years later the Justice Department cut a highly questionable deal with Arthur Coia, president of the mob-ridden Laborers International Union of North America, whose 700,000 members for the most part fill low-skilled construction jobs.

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Corruption in the Laborers Union is an old and open book. As far back as 1978 a Justice Department report to the White House contended that the Chicago mob dominated Angelo Posco, then president of LIUNA, and in 1986 the President's Commission on Organized Crime, pointing to the looting of union benefit funds by the mob, death threats, and murders of opposing candidates, urged the Justice Department to file civil-racketeering charges. In 1988, the FBI announced a RICO investigation of LIUNA.

On November 4, 1994, the Justice Department delivered a draft of its 212-page RICO complaint to the Laborers: the key demand, Coia must go. The complaint chronicled a massive web of corruption that had continued for decades, with capos from an assortment of crime families either running locals directly or installing their appointees. LIUNA, it said, has been "continuously and systematically controlled, exploited, and dominated in the conduct of its affairs by the Cosa Nostra."

Justice cut a deal: Coia could stay. In fact, he would be Justice's subcontractor to clean up the union

The complaint was unsparing concerning Coia personally. Four consecutive presidents of the union, including Coia, were "controlled and influenced by organized-crime figures." Indeed, according to the complaint, Coia had tried (unsuccessfully) to replace the previous president in 1986 because he believed "that [Angelo] Fosco's conduct harmed LIUNA and *the Cosa Nostra's control of LIUNA*" (italics added). From 1986 to July 1994, the complaint charged, Coia had conspired with the Todaro crime family of Buffalo to transfer training funds of upstate New York locals to Buffalo, where the money would be used for the benefit of Cosa Nostra families and associates. (They were foiled when the victim-locals protested and a court upheld them against Coia.) Some of the material was old but nonetheless telling, like the 1981 indictment of Coia's father (who, as secretary-treasurer of the union, was second in command), New England mob boss Raymond Patriarca, and Coia himself for racketeering and taking bribes from an insurance swindler: it fizzled when the judge ruled the statute of limitations had expired.

Despite the damning indictment, within three months Justice had cut a deal: Coia could stay. In fact, Coia would be Justice's subcontractor to clean up the union—giving the "appearance," in the delicate phrasing of Bill McCollum, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Crime, of putting the fox in charge of guarding the chicken coop. Why did Justice make such an unprecedented arrangement? The official explanation is that the government saved money that would otherwise have been wasted in lengthy litigation, and that Coia himself—who was more knowledgeable?—could root out the mob more efficiently. Indeed, Justice professed great pride in this pioneering method of dealing with union corruption, and Attorney General Janet Reno cited it as a model for future racket busting.

There is no doubt that Coia had wielded a canny combination of carrot and stick. He threatened an all-out fight in the courts if he personally were pushed out. Showing he meant business, he hired the firm of Williams & Connolly, which also represents President Clinton on Whitewater, to represent him in his negotiations with Justice. To represent LIUNA he hired Robert Luskin, himself a former Justice Department official. Luskin made an unusual offer on Coia's behalf: the union would hire him and a contingent of former FBI investigators to root out corruption. Moreover, Coia agreed to a consent decree acknowledging significant corruption in the union (which he had previously denied) that gave the Justice Department the option, until 1998, of putting LIUNA under trusteeship if it was not satisfied with Coia's progress.

Did Justice have other inducements to keep Coia in place? What has raised eyebrows is Coia's role as one of Clinton's most important political and financial allies. Coia has co-chaired a series of fund-raising dinners for the Democrats, each of which has raised millions of dollars. In 1994 alone, LIUNA contributed over a million dollars to Democratic candidates. It has become one of the largest donors of "soft money" to the Democratic Party. It even loaned $100,000 to Clinton's inaugural committee. Coia personally contributed $1,000 (the maximum permitted) to Clinton's Legal Defense Fund. He joined the board of the Back to Business Committee, where, humorously, he lent his moral authority to the committee's vigorous denials of merit in any of the "character" charges against the Clintons.

Money translated into social access. Soon the President and Coia were Bill and Arthur, eating breakfast together, exchanging gifts of specially made golf clubs. (The President's thank-you note for his arrived on Coia's desk the same day as the Justice Department's complaint.) Coia was invited to a small White House dinner where the President played the saxophone; a Judiciary subcommittee documented over 120 such contacts.

DID all this have any influence on the decision-making process at Justice? At hearings by Rep. McCollum's subcommittee at the end of July, Justice Department officials vigorously denied it and Democratic members of the committee indignantly insisted that there was absolutely no evidence of any White House interference.

Was there then only the *appearance* of a quid pro quo? Coia knew the Justice Department complaint was coming. There were obvious channels for a discreet phone call. The President and Coia were represented by the same law firm, and attorney–client privilege would forever protect such a channel of communications. Or Coia might have approached White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes. According to Coia himself, the President had designated Ickes as his White House contact. Before taking his White House post, Ickes had represented a number of unions on mob-related charges, including the Laborers. Indeed the court-appointed trustee for a Teamsters local demanded that Ickes's firm withdraw as the local's counsel because of what it complained was its "lack of independence" from mob influence.

But even if there were no contacts between the White House and Justice, there did not have to be interference for there to be influence. Janet Reno's Justice Department has bent itself out of shape to be helpful to the President on

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Whitewater, Filegate, Travelgate, Paulagate. The political appointees at Justice could not but be sensitive to the President's friendship with Coia. Last week, Ronald Fino, for 16 years an FBI informant within the Laborers on the Cosa Nostra, speaking behind a protective screen, warned McCollum's subcommittee that you can no longer tell a mobster by his fedora hat. "Projecting an image of goodness, popping up and chairing charitable fund-raising functions combined with a voice for social justice, the racketeer builds a formidable defense against the Justice Department and prosecution."

However the decision was made, and whatever the merits of the agreement between Justice and LIUNA—and it is too soon to tell whether Coia will truly clean up the union or merely get rid of mob rivals—several things are clear, all of them disquieting.

1. Coia had a tremendous victory as he was transformed overnight from accused racketeer to racket-busting pioneer. In effect now endorsed by the Justice Department, he is a sure winner in the union elections in September and is thus guaranteed control of LIUNA until well after 1998, when Justice loses its power to intervene if dissatisfied with Coia's "progress." Significantly, under terms of the agreement, LIUNA's $1-billion pension fund, the pot of gold which had been the mob's chief target, is off limits to the team of investigators Coia agreed to hire. Reform in this area, U.S. Attorney James Burns acknowledges, is "up to the union."

2. The President continued to lend Coia the prestige of his public friendship (including 24 White House visits) *after* he had been warned about the forthcoming Justice Department complaint. At the McCollum hearings, documents were produced showing that the FBI wrote the White House counsel's office in 1994 that Coia "is a criminal associate of the New England Patriarca organized crime family" and the subject of an FBI criminal probe. Another Justice Department memo that same year referred to Mrs. Clinton's staff having been warned, on the occasion of her planning to speak at a LIUNA conference, that "we plan to portray him as a mob puppet." (Undeterred, in early 1995, while Coia was still fighting off the complaint, Mrs. Clinton went to Florida to address LIUNA's conference, Coia proudly accompanying her.)

Kenneth Boehm of the National Legal and Policy Center, which focuses on ethical issues in government, says: "The appearance problem is enormous here. In the case of a federal judge, a conflict of interest includes the appearance of a conflict of interest. The rationale is that the public should have confidence in its public institutions. If the President allows himself to be seen with a figure like this, it is a betrayal of public trust."

3. Even as the Justice Department was chronicling the mob's wholesale pillaging of LIUNA's pension and training funds, departments of the Federal Government were providing the union with millions of dollars for "training and education." A current study by the Heritage Foundation finds that in fiscal 1994 the EPA, HUD, Education, Labor, and Health and Human Services between them gave over $11 million to LIUNA, most of it as "training funds." Bizarrely, the Department of Labor, in its annual Inspector General report, cites the prosecution of Michael LaBarbara for stealing training funds from a LIUNA local, while at the same time LIUNA received $475,000 more in, yes, training grants. The taxpayer hardly anticipates that government agencies will be showering discretionary funds on people with colorful nicknames.

One of the documents released by the McCollum committee shows just how far Coia thought he could go. At Coia's behest Democratic National Committee Chairman Don Fowler sent a memo to both Harold Ickes, who oversees the Clinton campaign from the White House, and Debra DeLee, chief executive of the 1996 Democratic convention, urging them to consider giving Coia a speaking role at that convention.

Sorry, folks. With all the publicity, he won't be at the podium. □

And It Isn't Over Yet

MARK R. LEVIN

A FIRST defense of Clinton partisans against new revelations of corruption, illegality, and general wrongdoing in the Whitewater scandal is to point out that it all occurred a long time ago, before Mr. Clinton was elected President. By implication if not overtly, Mr. Clinton's behavior as President is held to be above suspicion.

Unfortunately for the tactic, the Clintons seem to attract scandal the way Newt Gingrich attracts controversy. And this tendency didn't stop with Whitewater. Here is a brief list of Clinton scandal since Inaugural Day 1993:

Filegate: The President's director of personnel security, Craig Livingstone, was caught collecting *hundreds* of secret FBI files on Reagan and Bush Administration officials. President Clinton, who disclaims familiarity with the facts, nonetheless asserts that this was merely "a bureaucratic snafu." FBI director Louis Freeh—whose agency complied with the White House's extraordinary requests for these files—calls it a "massive" and "egregious" violation of privacy rights. Prosecutors and Congress want to know, among other things, who hired Livingstone and whether he acted on his own, as White House spokesmen claim. Two FBI special agents assigned to the White House insist they were told that Hillary Clinton was Livingstone's patron. While the First Lady has a finger in most White House appointments, including the chef, chief usher, head of the correspondence unit, and Secret Service detail, she denies any association with Livingstone. Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr will have to sort this out. He will probably invite Mrs. Clinton to testify a second time, under oath, before the grand jury.

State Department files: The first time Clinton officials were found rifling through files was at the State Department; 160 personnel files of former Bush officials were collected, and disparaging information from two of the files was leaked to the *Washington Post*. The State Department's inspector general found that this conduct probably violated the Privacy Act. He referred the case to Attorney General Janet Reno for possible criminal prosecution. Miss Reno chose not to pursue the matter.

Travelgate: The first time Clinton officials misused the FBI was when they concocted criminal charges against the

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director of the White House Travel Office, Billy Dale. This was done to throw lucrative government travel business to two of the Clintons' Hollywood friends and campaign supporters. Dale, who had worked for Republican and Democratic Presidents, was forced to spend $500,000 on his defense. He was eventually prosecuted on charges of embezzlement by the Clinton Justice Department, but found not guilty after less than two hours of jury deliberation. Independent Counsel Starr is looking into whether former presidential aide David Watkins lied to government investigators to cover up Mrs. Clinton's role in the Travel Office firings. Watkins's own notes show that the First Lady ordered the firings, but Mrs. Clinton has told investigators she had no role in them. Again, she can be expected to give sworn testimony about this to the grand jury.

The Clinton Cabinet: The Clintons are not the only Administration officials being investigated by an independent counsel. Former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, who was forced to resign, is under investigation for allegedly taking bribes from Tyson Foods, Inc., the giant Arkansas poultry company. Of course, the Tysons have been prominent supporters of Mr. Clinton's political career. Moreover, Tyson Foods' top lawyer, James Blair, helped Mrs. Clinton turn a $1,000 cattle-futures investment into $100,000 in less than a year. (Mrs. Clinton originally claimed that her superior financial skills were learned from the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*; in truth, this remarkable investment has never been fully explained.)

An independent counsel is investigating whether HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros lied to the FBI during his background investigation about the size and number of payments he made to his former mistress. And before his tragic death, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown was being investigated for, among other things, possible financial irregularities.

The Clinton Sub-Cabinet: Former Associate Attorney General Webster Hubbell—Mrs. Clinton's former partner in the Rose Law Firm—is now imprisoned at Cumberland Federal Penitentiary. He was convicted of defrauding some of his clients. Former White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum resigned after he interfered with Justice Department lawyers' efforts to search the late Vince Foster's office. Former Associate White House Counsel William Kennedy resigned over tax problems and his role in the Travel Office firings. Former Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman and former Treasury General Counsel Jean Hanson resigned after it was learned that they had tipped off the President's staff that the Resolution Trust Corporation was sending criminal referrals involving the Clintons to the Justice Department.

Health Care Task Force: As head of the task force, Mrs. Clinton insisted that the group's meetings be closed to all but six hundred carefully selected government and industry officials who shared her goal of nationalizing America's health-care system. Mrs. Clinton and the task force were sued by three organizations claiming that the secret meetings violated the Federal Advisory Committee Act. A federal court agreed. Moreover, during the litigation, the presiding judge, Royce Lamberth, became concerned that certain Administration officials may have provided false and misleading information to the court. Judge Lamberth is currently considering whether to bring sanctions against any of these officials.

Paula Jones: Paula Jones's allegations of sexual harassment by Bill Clinton go back before his Presidency. But his legalistic contortions to evade a trial are a minor scandal in themselves. Incidentally, the Clinton lawyer who alleged that Billy Dale's willingness to have his lawyers plea-bargain was a sign of guilt might want to ponder the fact that the President's lawyers held negotiations with Paula Jones's team on the terms under which she would withdraw her suit. Mr. Clinton maintains that the Constitution immunizes him from civil suits involving allegations of personal misconduct that occurred before he became President. Of course, no such immunity exists. At one time Mr. Clinton claimed immunity as a member of the armed forces. Public outcry caused him to beat a quick retreat from that argument. Recently the Supreme Court agreed to consider the President's immunity claim, thereby delaying the case until after the election.

Whitewater: While Whitewater per se occurred before the Clintons came to Washington, actions that look like cover-up attempts have taken place in the White House. Last summer, for example, critical Rose Law Firm billing records, containing information about Mrs. Clinton's apparent legal work on the Castle Grande real-estate scam, were discovered outside the First Lady's personal office in the White House residence. The records, sought by lawmen since 1994, were not turned over until this January. Mrs. Clinton has steadfastly denied providing legal advice on Castle Grande. Furthermore, she denies knowing the whereabouts of the long-sought billing records prior to their discovery. Mrs. Clinton was required to give her testimony to the grand jury this January. Since then, the FBI found her fingerprints on the records. □

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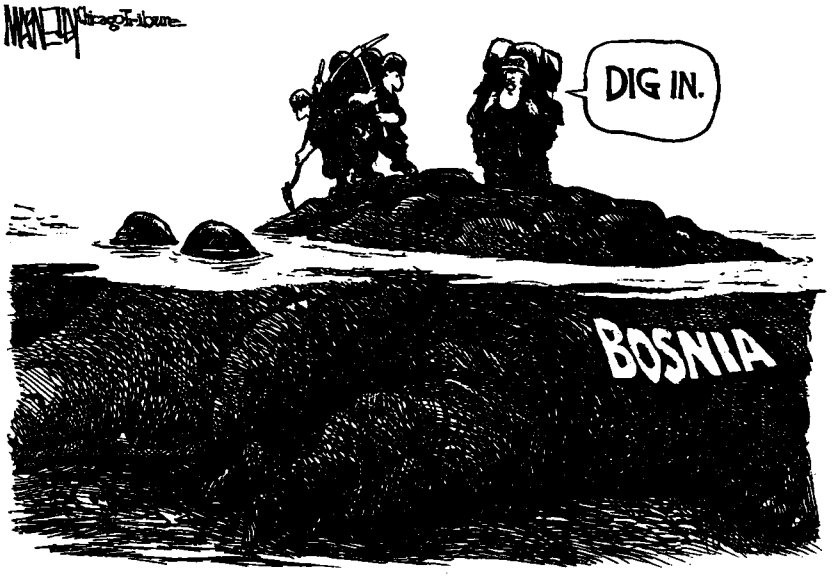

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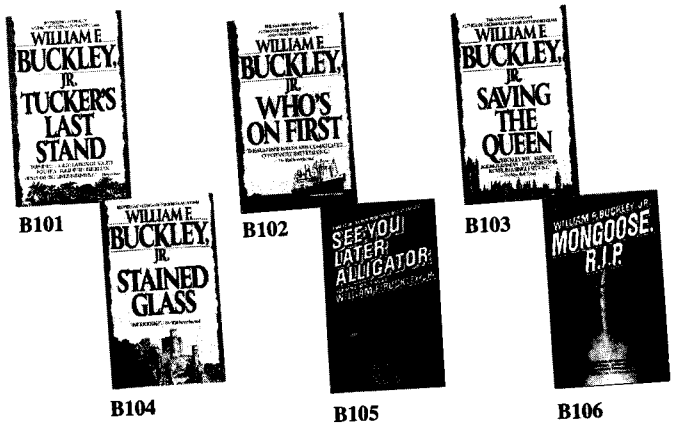

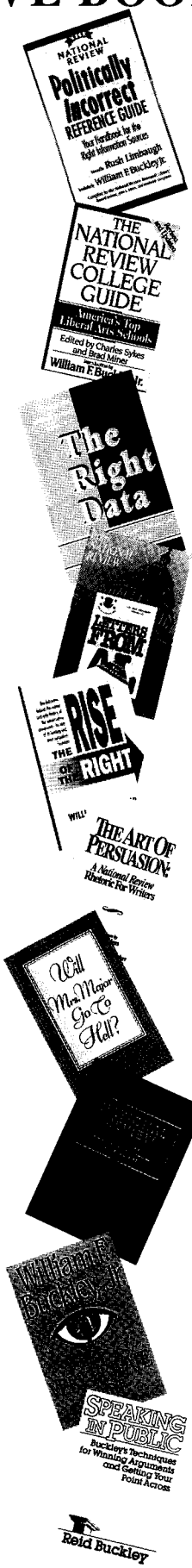
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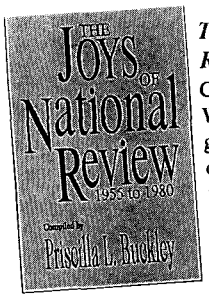

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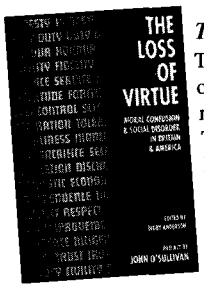

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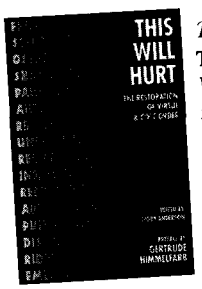

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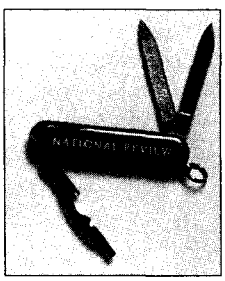

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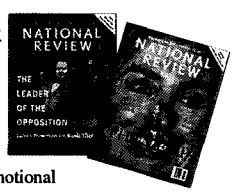

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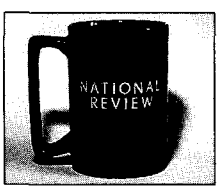

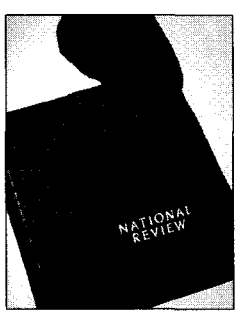

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1996

Dear Rusty,

It's been a tumultuous couple of weeks, let me be the first to admit. I'm sitting here in my office, it's late, but I'm too keyed up to go home—I'm busy channel surfing, waiting for the early editions of the Post and the New York Times.

I guess this is how big Broadway actors feel on opening night: excited, nervous, thrilled—you see, Bill announced late this afternoon that he's going to sign the welfare-reform bill, and I can't wait to see how it'll play in the national media.

So far, on Inside Politics, we've been getting raves. There's been universal acclaim for the Clinton–Gingrich welfare plan. It'll be tricky, come election time, to help the voters distinguish between "Clinton–Gingrich" and "Dole–Gingrich," but hey, that's what we pay those media guys the big bucks for, right?

And on the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, the word has been universally positive, except for one old fuddy-duddy who complained about "no coherent philosophy," but let's be honest, Rusty—there's no point in having a coherent philosophy if you're not in office. Just ask Jimmy Carter.

I've been advocating this move for months—you know me, Rusty, I was the original New Democrat, back in 1988—and for a long time, it was just me and Dick Morris, voices crying in the wilderness. We'd have long meetings in the Oval Office with the full staff—me, Dick, George Stephanopoulos, Mike McCurry, Donna Shalala, Leon Panetta, and the rest of the gang—and let me tell you, Rusty, it wasn't easy to win the argument.

In the first place, Bill tends to agree with the last person who speaks, and since he calls on people to speak moving clockwise around the room, Dick and I had to keep getting up, pretending to stretch our legs, and sitting down a couple of seats over. That way, the debate would go: me, George, Dick, Leon, me, Donna, Dick, Mike, me, Bob Reich, Dick . . . and then we'd try to time it just right so that the conversation always ended with either me or Dick.

It didn't look too natural. George caught on early, I think, because when Dick or I would get up to stretch our legs or "get another Diet Coke," George would always get up too, "to smooth out my pants," he'd say, but I noticed that he kept sliding down the couch, always trying to be the last one.

At this afternoon's meeting—the last one before Bill was supposed to announce his decision—Dick very cleverly head-faked George by half-standing, then sitting down very quickly right next to Bill before George had a chance to slide completely over. There they were, slammed next to each other, shoulders touching, legs fighting for seat-cushion turf, pushing hard against each other until finally Dick, who has a lot more bulk, managed to squeeze George off the couch and onto the floor.

And that's pretty much how welfare reform got signed into law. It was thrilling, let me tell you.

Bill and I headed down to the briefing room while Dick got George into a half-nelson and stuffed a cushion into his mouth. I felt sorry for the guy, but I also knew that if he got so much as "a million kids on the street" out, Bill would get that quizzical look on his face, postpone the decision, and we'd still be nervous about Bob Dole.

The only problem right now is HRC. She was down in Georgia when Bill called her.

"Hillary," he said into the phone, twisting the cord into a thousand loops, "I've decided to back the House welfare reform."

He winced a bit, and held the phone away from his ear for a few moments.

He listened for a few seconds, then looked up. "She wants to know if we can fix it later, after I'm re-elected," he said to Dick Morris.

Dick shook his head and mouthed, "No way."

Bill nodded. "Dick says, 'Of course we can,' Hillary. He's calling this a 'tactical center-shift.'"

He winced again, held the phone away again.

"Okay, then, have it your way," he said. "It's a 'tactical shift to the far right.' But I think we're just playing semantics."

More wincing.

"Hillary," he said into the phone, "we're still very much in favor of partial-birth abortions. That should count for something."

A few moments later, he hung up. "She'll come around," he said. "She's always said that in the second term, the gloves come off."

Rusty, the interns just brought in the Post and the Times. We're a hit! "A masterful stroke," croons the Post. "Brilliant leadership," cries the Times. "Two thumbs up!" say Shields and Gigot.

Who knew being conservative was so . . . so popular?

See you in Chicago!

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Escape from Rightworld

RICHARD BROOKHISER

ONE of the most popular American literary forms is the escape narrative, from *Moby Dick* to *Confessions of a Nun*. In Michael Lind's *Up from Conservatism*, the City of Destruction is the conservative movement. From the mid Eighties to the early Nineties, Mr. Lind was a player on the Right. Now he only is escaped alone to tell us how grim it was.

As a Texas Democrat, Lind writes, he grew up believing in a strong nation and the welfare state. But when he came to Yale as a grad student, he found the local liberals obsessed with identity politics of the most overripe sort. Where was he to turn but to the Right? He served as executive editor of *The National Interest*, and did research for William F. Buckley Jr. (whom he still calls "one of the most charming and magnanimous individuals in American public life"). Between 1990 and 1992, however, the Right became extreme, and its "leading younger intellectuals" abandoned it, led by Michael Lind.

Up from Conservatism: Why the Right Is Wrong for America, by Michael Lind (Free Press, 295 pp., $23)

Call it an honest mistake. Was it an intelligent one? "Much to my astonishment," Lind writes, "supply-side economics . . . rose from the dead" in the budget debate of 1990. But 1985 and 1986 were filled with debates over the merits of flattening the tax code, conducted partly on supply-side terms. Did he hear them? "The religious Right appeared to be losing influence" in the late Eighties, he says, citing the decline of the Moral Majority and the disgrace of Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker. But Pat Robertson ran for President in 1988. Did he notice? Lind regrets that the Right never followed the poet Peter Viereck, who argued that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson should be conservative heroes. But Viereck's influence on conservatives, such as it was, had ended before Michael Lind was born. We are never so hard on other people's mistakes as we are on our own—unless we can displace the blame onto some handy object. In *Up from Conservatism* Lind sets to work.

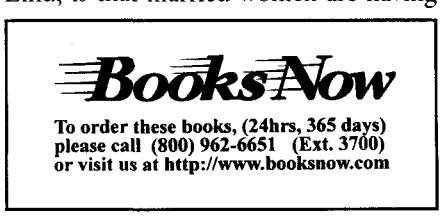
He pursues three strategies. The first, and the least important to his book, is to argue that conservatives are wrong about a variety of issues, from taxes to illegitimacy. On taxes, he mocks the claims of supply-siders in the early Eighties that income-tax rate cuts would produce a budget surplus. But he does not acknowledge that income-tax revenues rose as promised, even though spending rose faster. There was a lesson here for pie-in-the-sky optimists about spending discipline, but Lind is not interested in lessons, only in administering punishments.

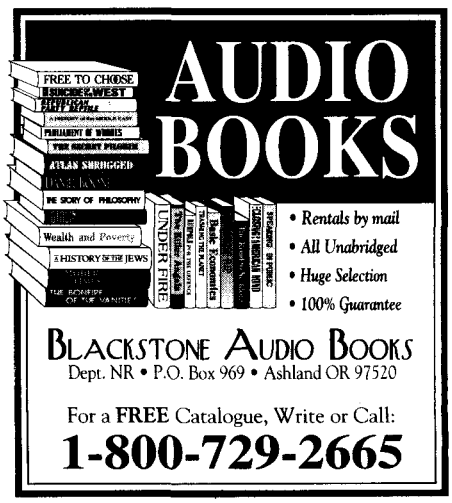
He insists that the "illegitimacy epidemic" flagged by Charles Murray is an illusion; the only reason the proportion of illegitimate births has grown, says Lind, is that married women are having fewer children. But his own chart, on page 170, plainly shows that from 1960 to 1989 the expected lifetime births of the average unmarried black woman almost doubled, while the expected lifetime births of the average unmarried white woman tripled. He also ignores what social conservatives like Maggie Gallagher have had to say about the falling birth rate of married women, which is that it is the product of rising divorce. This is convenient, since he accuses conservatives of ignoring divorce, because they find gay-bashing so much more fun.

But Lind is less concerned with what conservatives think than with why they think it. Sometimes, the motive is partisan interest. "What passes for intellectual conservatism," says Lind, "is little more than the subsidized propaganda wing of the Republican Party." For instance, the anti-abortion position "was dictated by the religious Right to the Republican Party, which in turn dictated it to conservative scholars and journalists, via a few editors and [foundation] program officers." This is fantastic. Conservatives who dislike abortion dislike it because they think it is wrong, and they began fighting it in earnest after *Roe* v. *Wade* was decided in 1973, which was years before the Moral Majority or the Christian Coalition was founded, and years before the GOP addressed abortion in any consistent way.

"The party line," Lind goes on, "tend[s] to be adopted at periodic 'conservative summits,' private meetings once a year or so between conservative editors like Kristol, Podhoretz, and Buckley . . ." (The Editors of Zion?) I have attended some of the meetings Lind seems to be referring to. One was

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR *senior editor, is the author of* Founding Father *(Free Press).*





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a debate between Peter Brimelow and Robert Bartley on immigration. No consensus there. Another featured a debate between Glenn Loury and Dinesh D'Souza on race. Ditto. More I may not say, under the seal of my oath of silence.

Lind grandly disclaims any intention of ferreting out our sexual peccadilloes. This is no sacrifice; money is Lind's porno

When the GOP does not command us, the pocketbook does. Lind grandly disclaims any intention of ferreting out our sexual peccadilloes, as we ferret out Bill Clinton's. This is no sacrifice, for money is Lind's porno. It controls people's thoughts; it certainly controls his thoughts about them. "Like so many of the leaders of the American Right, including Malcolm Forbes Jr., Pete Du Pont, and William F. Buckley Jr., William E. Simon was a very rich man"; David Frum "happens to be the child of one of Canada's richest families." Conservatives who were not born rich—Ronald Reagan, say—take their opinions from their patrons.

Lind's final category of conservative motivation is bigotry. His punching bags are three books—Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein's *The Bell Curve*, Dinesh D'Souza's *The End of Racism*, and Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation*—though to make the case that they epitomize right-wing racism he has to distort what they say, or what conservatives have said about them. *The Bell Curve* was the subject of a cover-story symposium in NATIONAL REVIEW, whose contributors variously praised, trashed, and quibbled with it. That issue evidently didn't make it into Lind's clip file. His attack on Dinesh D'Souza is as harsh as Glenn Loury's. The main reason for Lind's irritation with Peter Brimelow is that he opposes immigration himself, and he must show that he is not as this publican.

But the grand strategy, the talk-show hook of this book, is that what conservatives do and think is unimportant, because they have become irrelevant—displaced in their own movement by Pat Robertson, Pat Buchanan, and the militias. "The 'Right' now means the overlapping movements of the 'far Right': the religious Right, the populist Right, the paramilitary Right." Their "worldview is summed by three letters: ZOG, which stand for 'Zionist-occupied government,' the phrase used by far-right white-supremacists, anti-Semites, and militia members for the Federal Government." Lind's transitivity theorem works like this: Robertson and Buchanan legitimate the militias; conservatives legitimate Robertson and Buchanan. Ergo, George Will belongs in the same docket with Timothy McVeigh.

To push the elements of this argument into place, Lind has to treat a lot of people as if they were alike, and equally influential. Since they aren't, his structure collapses at a touch.

The militias are an inchoate movement. The only militiaman I ever met was running a Powell-for-President campaign in Michigan. Whatever their politics, their alienation, almost by definition, segregates most of them from the political process. Since 1991, Pat Buchanan has led a spirited insurgency against the Republican and conservative establishments. He has also never won more than 40 per cent of the vote in a Republican primary. How does this make him pre-eminent? This year Steve Forbes ran almost as well as Buchanan. Does this put Forbes in the bunker with other believers in ZOG?

Since Lind cannot understand why anyone would be opposed to abortion, he has trouble understanding the Religious Right. But he thinks he has found the key in Pat Robertson's book *The New World Order* (1991). *The New World Order* is a bizarre and malignant book, arguing that all the bad events of the last two centuries are the work of a conspiracy of wirepullers, who have sought to profit from them. Even the Cold War, writes Robertson, may have been a hoax. Lind says that Robertson's chief wirepullers are Jewish bankers, and that his main sources are the works of Nesta Webster, an early twentieth-century anti-Semite. By my reading, Robertson's *Ur*-conspiracy is a cabal of Illuminated Freemasons, and his *Ur*-source is *Proofs of a Conspiracy against All Religions and Governments*, by John Robison, an eighteenth-century Antimason, although it hardly matters. The book stinks either way.

But is it the bible of the Religious Right? The conspiracy theories of *The New World Order* did not inform Robertson's 1988 run for President (he was as much a Cold Warrior as the other Republican candidates) or the agenda of the Christian Coalition since—much less the agenda of the Republican Party, or the conservative movement.

Dr. Johnson defined metaphysical poetry as "heterogeneous elements by violence yoked together." But Lind is not writing poetry. What kind of thought processes yield such violent linkages? Aren't they rather like John Robison's, or Pat Robertson's? If Robertson had read *Up from Conservatism* he might have cited the "private meetings" of Kristol, Podhoretz, and Buckley in *The New World Order*.

To be Lindean for a moment, we

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might ask whose partisan interest *Up from Conservatism* serves. Who seeks to yoke conservatives and Republicans with bombers and church burners? It may be that neither Harold Ickes nor Craig Livingstone told Lind what to write at a private summit meeting. But his book would be no different if they had.

Scattered pages in this book and his last one show that Michael Lind is capable of better things. When he stops sticking out his tongue at his own past, maybe he can write them.

What about the conservative movement, which has been judged to be in trouble by numbers of conservatives themselves, from R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. to David Frum, to every Beltway type who thinks about the Dole campaign? We are still selling the same goods, at the same stand: that the best guides to salvation and morality are found in the traditions of the West; that the best guides to good government are found in the thoughts of the Founders; and that individual responsibility tends to be the best monitor of human action. We know that figuring out what that means for us, and our country, takes a lifetime, and that we'll fall short. Back to work. □

Tent City

FLORENCE KING

'WHAT is written with ease is seldom read with pleasure," said Samuel Johnson. "Make haste slowly," said Augustus Caesar. "If something is worth doing, it's worth doing well," said your mother. Pick any old saw from the haste/waste school of thought and you will have an apt description of Michael Lind's problem. Somebody should take away his laptop and give him a quill.

Powertown is a Washington political novel about the good, the bad, the ugly, and the mentored. Lind uses the "Grand Hotel" format: take a group of disparate people who would not ordinarily meet and make their paths cross. It sounds easy, but this mode of storytelling demands the balance of a juggler and the patience of a chess player. Lacking a protagonist to hold the story together, the writer must take pains to move the right character into the right place at the right time so that the action unfolds in an orderly manner. In a carefully crafted Grand Hotel novel, the characters are synchronized as precisely as the statues that strike the hour on German cathedrals: the trumpeters come forward, the archangels turn right, King Wenceslaus turns left, and St. Boniface changes places with St. Stephen.

But painstaking writing takes time, so Michael Lind had to find a quicker technique. If I had to guess, I'd say he played "52 Pickup" with his Rolodex and put everybody who landed face up into this book.

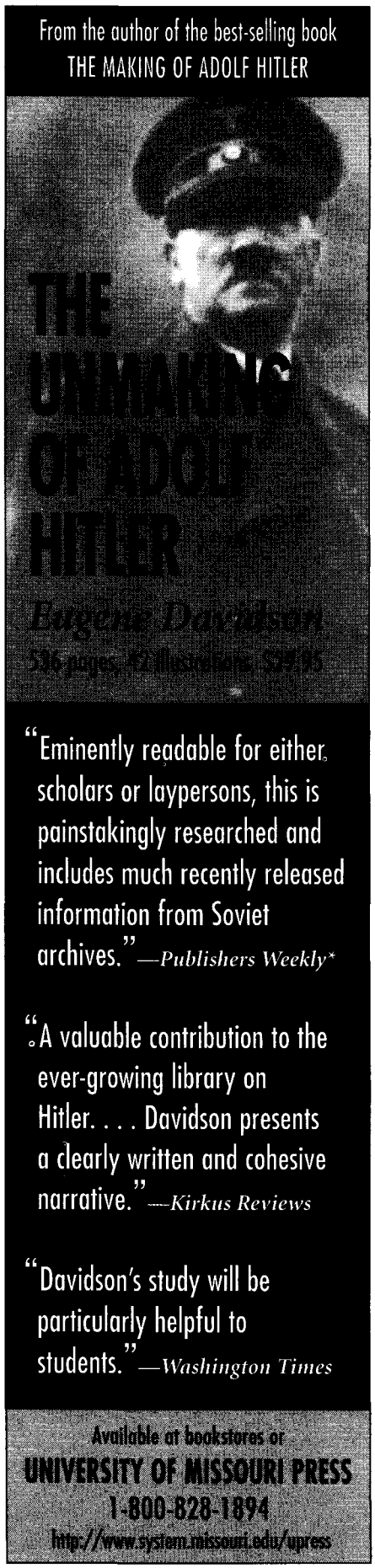
The two most important male characters are both gay Republicans, one white and one black. The former is Ross Drummond of Mississippi, a K Street lobbyist who never loses sight of the fiscal. "The real division in the world is not between heterosexuals and homosexuals. It's between tops and bottoms," he explains. "If you're a top, why the hell would you be in favor of gay marriage? You're probably bringing in most of the income, right? So . . . even though you're pulling in 80 per cent of the money, the male wife gets 50 per cent of the household assets. F—that s—."

Powertown, by Michael Lind (HarperCollins, 272 pp., $23)

Ross's lover is Avery Brackenridge, a black elitist conservative who is drawn to the Aryan imagery of Wagnerian music and has fantasies of a blond Anglo-Saxon beau ideal he calls "the man in the Burberrys coat."

Stephanie Schonfeld is the hot-shot careerist who has mastered the art of carrying a drink, a cigarette, and finger food at cocktail parties without dropping anything. Homely Stef has an affair with Bruce Brandt, an aide to the Drug Czar. Bruce's reason for sleeping with Stef, while not the only cliché in the book, is definitely the oldest; "in his experience ordinary girls had often been the best

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *(St. Martin's) and other works.*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lovers. They were determined to compensate—and also desperate to keep a guy as good looking as him [*sic*]."

Stef works at *Perspective*, a small-circulation opinion journal owned by a Greek-Australian, Des Kazakis, whose do-gooder sister, Aglaia Kazakis, wants to train monkeys to help the handicapped. *Perspective*'s editor is Sir Robin Blair, an imported Brit who thinks the civil-rights movement took place in "Binghamton" and was led by "Malcolm Luther King."

This ménage cries out for satirical development, but Lind gives them a lick and a promise and moves on to Ouida Covington, a black activist who works for D.C. Statehood; Darryl Shelton, a white gunrunner to the ghetto; Graciela Herrera, an illegal immigrant who is seduced in a warehouse owned by financier Jay Prentice Pierce, the subject of Stef's exposé, "Piercegate," that will make her a world-famous journalist after Bruce rejects her for Allison and she opts for the brittle world represented by Claudia, etc., etc.

The underclass blacks include Velma Hawkins, who keeps saying "Lawd a'mercy," her husband Curtis, a security guard who beats up the elitist Avery, their nephew Evander, who sees himself as Salamander Man, impervious to fire; his mother Sharonda, his girlfriends Teesha and Eunique, and a pride of gang members with names like Jamal, Twon, and Lookout.

No real connection is ever forged between the white and black characters. The ghetto scenes serve the purpose of showing off Lind's knowledge of street-smart dialects and provide him with inordinately lubricious black-on-black sex scenes that hint of a cherubic Southern white boy imagining forbidden dusky pleasures.

Lind introduces so many characters so fast that we feel we are being held hostage in a receiving line. Especially frustrating are the ones who are named and described as if they're going to play a large role, only to have little or no importance. In this group we find Senators Ed Shaunnessey of Massachusetts and his pal, Brad Doyle of Connecticut, obviously Ted Kennedy and Chris Dodd, who have a drunken donut fight and then disappear from the book.

But worse than the revolving door, worse than the confusing transitions, is Lind's style. He strains so hard for metaphors and similes that the book needs a truss instead of a dust jacket:

"The room is suffused with an amber effulgence."

"Blood-colored light seeps through clouds textured like gauze."

"Soon she is clenched in pleasure again as his eager bucking flares coals of burning pleasure in her core."

". . . that moment when the sun has set but the blue sky has not yet forgotten the day, and the cloud-foam, piled beyond the darkening trees, appears to have the weight and texture as well as the color of clay."

". . . pants tented by a rebellious reflex [an erection]."

"The shadow of a pteranodon tents them [lovers in the Museum of Natural History]."

". . . his stomach twisted, pregnant with fear."

This is what happens when you just let it come: the rosy fingers of dawn, a certain slant of light, two *pleasures* in the same sentence, a pregnant man, and tent city.

Powertown is being hyped as another *Bonfire of the Vanities*, but in fact it's a cast of thousands looking for a novel. If they ever find it, they can call it a gas leak of the incongruities. □

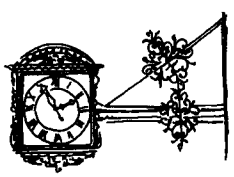
Primitive Harmony

ROBERT EDGERTON

Dark Nature: A Natural History of Evil, by Lyall Watson (HarperCollins, 352 pp., $25)

War before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage, by Lawrence H. Keeley (Oxford, 272 pp., $25)

THE belief that, before Western contact shattered their traditional ways of life, "primitive" peoples lived in remarkable harmony is not only the stuff that Hollywood movies are made of (*Dances with Wolves* comes to mind), it is a taken-for-granted underpinning of much scholarly discourse as well. Anthropologists, those academic sorts who know most about people in the world's "small-scale" societies (it is not done to refer to them as "primitive"), no longer call them "noble savages," as Rousseau had it, but they very often attribute all the nastiness that may exist in their lives to the disruptive influences of Western ideas, economic changes, and political domination. Kirkpatrick Sale answered criticism of his recent book *The Conquest of Paradise* (about the European conquest of the native peoples of America) by vigorously defending his claim that, compared to the cultures of Europe, the native cultures of pre-conquest America were much more "harmonious, peaceful, benign, and content."



Mr. Edgerton teaches anthropology at UCLA.

Some may have been, but, as archaeologist Lawrence H. Keeley convincingly demonstrates in *War before Civilization,* many were anything but benign and peaceful. It has long been known, for example, that many tribes of South America's tropical forest engaged in frequent and horrific warfare, but some scholars have attributed their addiction to violence to baneful Western influences. Keeley produces evidence of frequent deadly raids and occasional wholesale massacres over much of prehistoric North America, arguing that this archaeological evidence indicates that these massacres were not only prior to Western contact, but also more severe than anything reported in the ethnographic record for the region. For example, at a place called Crow Creek in South Dakota, archaeologists found a mass grave with the skeletons of over five hundred men, women, and children who had been killed, scalped, and mutilated—around 1325 A.D., a century and a half before Columbus. Only young women, whose bodies were not found in the grave, appear to have survived, probably as captives. Of course, the Aztecs were predatory warriors long before Cortés landed.

Keeley points out that because archaeologists have had "a pervasive bias against the possibility of prehistoric warfare," they have "pacified the past," choosing to ignore evidence of mass warfare—large numbers of skeletons with arrowheads embedded in their spines or skulls, or with their skulls split

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open. In fact, archaeological textbooks frequently omit any mention of warfare until the rise of urban centers, even though there is clear evidence of warfare during the early Neolithic period, long before civilization could be said to have corrupted people's natural harmony. One half of the people found in a Nubian cemetery dating to as early as 12,000 years ago had died of violence.

Keeley also lays to rest the widespread belief among anthropologists that "primitive" warfare was ritualized, typically ineffective, and rarely deadly. He demonstrates that not only was warfare more common in small-scale societies than it has been among "civilized" nation states, it involved a greater percentage of the population, and the numbers killed were proportionately higher as well. In point of fact, truly peaceful small-scale societies were rare. Even the so-called "harmless people" like the Sau (or Bushmen) of the Kalahari Desert in Southern Africa have had a long history of warfare against their neighbors.

This tells us something basic about the human inclination to violence and evil: it was not created by civilization but existed from the start. In *Dark Nature*, biologist-naturalist Lyall Watson takes a broader perspective on human nature by examining what he calls the natural history of evil. With admirable judgment and superb craftsmanship, Watson ranges widely over such topics as the nature of ecology, genetic fitness, the selfish and deceptive behavior of gorillas, the premeditated violence of chimpanzees, and the altruism of false killer whales whom he observed trying to save not only one of their own who was having trouble breathing but Watson as well when they took his noisy snorkel to be evidence of distress. He also examines so-called evil in human societies, including his own experiences with the Asmat of Irian Indonesian New Guinea who are inveterate cannibals.

Archaeologists have 'pacified the past,' choosing to ignore evidence of mass warfare

Watson's definition of evil is less satisfying than his many examples. Deeply troubled by the human horror in Rwanda and Bosnia as well as by a murder in Britain by two 10-year-olds who brutally and remorselessly beat a 2-year-old to death and then left his body on a railroad track to be cut in two, he searches for a definition of evil that will have universal applicability. His answer lies in an ecological vision of life in which human acts become consistently or deliberately evil when the ecosystem is disordered, population imbalances occur, and stable associations are disrupted or impoverished. From my perspective, these principles are anything but "simple," as Watson believes them to be, but his vision of human nature is crystal clear: "There is an inherited, genetically related system that is unrelentingly selfish, ruthless, and cruel."

Although Watson acknowledges the beauty of much of nature, and obviously loves many of its creatures, he has no illusions about its inherent goodness. "Nature," he says, "is morally bankrupt and stands condemned." Pointing to the utter selfishness of genetic evolution, he concludes that it is not enough to characterize the physical universe as indifferent; the biological world requires an even stronger term. He chooses "evil." As a source of human evil, he calls attention to our divided nature. Watson acknowledges that there are monsters among us, fiends and psychopaths, but it is the banality of evil, the fact that we are all capable of monstrous acts, that worries him most. However, telling us that we are moral creatures in an immoral world, he offers the hope that our capacity to make moral choices gives us a chance to hold "our dark nature at bay long enough to give evolution the nudge it needs in the right direction."

There are no revelations in Watson's beautifully written book. The story he tells is not new. But it is told with such persuasiveness that devotees of the myth of primitive harmony or true believers in the inherent goodness of humankind should be hard-pressed to reject it. Likewise, Keeley is not the first to assert the ubiquity and savagery of warfare, but his is by far the most detailed and powerful demonstration of that assertion. Four years ago I wrote *Sick Societies*, a book with the subtitle *The Myth of Primitive Harmony*, which pointed to human nature as one source of human maladaptation. I very much wish I had had both of these books in hand when I was writing it. □

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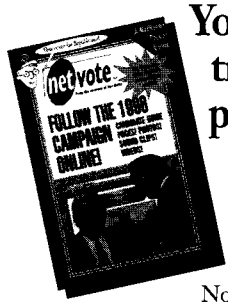

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There Is No Answer

CAROL BUCKLEY

ON a June day in 1968, as Senator George McGovern prepared the eulogy he was to give in honor of the slain presidential candidate, Robert Kennedy, he picked up the *Los Angeles Times* to find the following headline: "Senator's Daughter Arrested on Drug Charge." It was Terry.

In this tender and harrowing account of his daughter Teresa's battle against alcoholism, George McGovern, the father, searches in vain for an answer. Why, after Terry's numberless attempts at sobriety, after psychiatric hospitalizations, de-toxes, treatment centers, halfway houses, and AA, did Terry die intoxicated? Why was her loving and cohesive family unable to help? What self-destructive madness consumed this apparently bright, altruistic, and friendly young woman?

Terry: My Daughter's Life-and-Death Struggle with Alcoholism, by George McGovern (Random, 208 pp., $21)

We do not find the answer in this poignant memoir, for there has never been a complete answer to the puzzling course of chronic alcoholism. Genetic factors there may be: there is a history of depression in Eleanor McGovern's family and of alcoholism in George McGovern's. Birth order? Terry was the middle child of the McGoverns' five and felt isolated there: "How lonely and guilty and ugly I felt in my family," she writes in one of her many journal entries. Was it her involvement with an unstable, drug-using boyfriend? The abortion at age 15? The many different schools Terry was sent to in her teen years as her parents sought in vain to protect her from the consequences of her drug-using and drinking? Was it her busy, ambitious (abandoning) father?

"I wish that I had held her closer as she was and judged her less by what I wanted her to be," McGovern writes in grief, and yet as he takes the reader through Terry's torn life, we, too, begin to feel impatience with her. For except for a seven-year-period of sobriety, when Terry holds a job, has a home, and bears two daughters, she torments her family with crisis after crisis. "I guess," says her sister Ann, "the best way to get attention in this family is to be an alcoholic."

The separation from her children's father precipitates Terry's final bingeing years. During the last four years of her life, she is admitted to the Tellurian Detox Center in Madison, Wisconsin, a total of 68 times. In one of the final, most grueling chapters of the book, McGovern simply lists the entries of the detox center and the Madison Police Department:

> April 14, 1994—Time 1:12 PM.
> Subject was found passed out sitting up against a fence. She was very intoxicated, she had a hard time keeping her balance. Her speech was slurred, she smelled very strong of intoxicants. She informed me that if she was taken home she would go back to a liquor store and buy some more alcohol. Said she had been drinking vanilla extract. —Sgt. Bruce Beckman

Why did Terry, despite her valiant, life-long struggles, die of her disease? If George McGovern, citing up-to-date medical research, examining and re-examining the events of her life, cannot tell us the reason, we come away from this touching book with one piece of sure knowledge: that Terry was blessed above all with a loving father and family. The answer lies elsewhere, in a young woman's tortured and fragile psyche. "Better to freeze—who can hurt me when I'm frozen?" wrote Terry, four years before her death, drunk, found frozen in a bank of snow. □

Miss Buckley is the author of At the Still Point: A Memoir *(Simon & Schuster).*

FILM

New Directors

JOHN SIMON

SENTIMENTALITY and melodrama are frequent partners in crime. The sentimental comedy or drama (depending on the ending) jerks tears; melodrama, always ending happily, thrives on chills and suspense. How does one marry the two? By taking, say, a poor but honest orphan girl, and exposing her to the machinations of a villain or villains: will she succumb or escape, yield or be rescued? This was the stuff of D. W. Griffith and his many legatees.

Nowadays, though melodrama continues to thrive, sentimentality is no longer a staple. Done in partly by greater sexual freedom, partly by pop psychology—the two combining to make virtue and vice less clear-cut matters—sentimentality has been replaced by spurious sophistication. What makes ***The Spitfire Grill*** noteworthy is its attempt to turn back the clock. It is surely no accident that its writer-director, Lee David Zlotoff, comes from television, that newish medium where ancient forms survive best. Nonstop mass entertainment postulates plunder of the past.

In Zlotoff's feature-film debut, pretty Percy Talbot (or Talbott, depending on whether you go by the press kit or the screen credits), arrives in the small, soporific, and symbolically named Gilead, Maine, which this Ohioan has picked for her home after having completed a five-year prison term for manslaughter. She learned about the place while working as a telephonic tourist-bureau clerk in prison, where this woodsy, hilly, and waterfally locale struck her as the perfect locus for regeneration. She becomes a waitress and cook at the Spitfire Grill, the town's only eatery, owned by the crusty, elderly Hannah Ferguson, who has been trying to sell it for years—ever since her son Eli, the town's spiritual sparkplug, failed to return from Vietnam.

Percy is viewed with suspicion by many, and outright hostility by two. One of these is the town's postmistress and chief busybody; the other is the

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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realtor Nahum Goddard, Hannah's nephew, who always lived in Eli's shadow. He bullies his repressed wife, Shelby; tries unsuccessfully to dominate Hannah; and nurtures fantasies about the town's abandoned granite quarry, as well as other designs with which Percy could interfere. He becomes her relentless persecutor.

On plucky Percy's side, however, are Shelby, the bullied wife and mother, who eagerly helps the girl with her restaurant chores; Sheriff Walsh, impressed by all the Gilead lore Percy has acquired in jail; Joe Sperling, an inarticulate young mechanic who falls in love with her; and finally even Hannah, who, bedridden from a fall, finds Percy an able helper. What with the blossoming friendship between Percy and Shelby, and the town's gradual acceptance of the newcomer, things might have progressed serenely. But given a mysterious recluse in the nearby woods, an essay contest for ownership of the Spitfire that brings in a goodly sum for Hannah, and Nahum's underhanded maneuvering, the outcome is, at best, bittersweet.

Some things here are hard to believe. Why does that supposedly rich quarry remain unexploited? Why would the rest of the country know about the essay contest so much earlier than Gilead? How can a whole town participate in adjudicating it? Why would the hermit in the forest remain unknown to all but Hannah and Percy? But never mind: the movie is like a stray, eager-to-please puppy that has wandered into your yard—virtually impossible to kick out.

Much of this hinges on the likable performances, especially from what in rural Maine may still be called the distaff side. Alison Elliott as Percy, Ellen Burstyn as Hannah, and Marcia Gay Harden as Shelby are a good acting company, and good company for the audience. If you keep your expectations modest, you will find the fare at *The Spitfire Grill* to your liking. Especially as the Maine landscapes are elatingly evoked by Roger Draper's Wyethian camera.

■ A similarly unassuming film that nevertheless yields distinct pleasures is ***Manny & Lo***, a title in which the now ubiquitous ampersand makes yet another unsolicited appearance. We have here the adventures of two sisters from different foster homes: Manny, 11, and Lo, 16, who drive around in a station wagon, live by minimal shoplifting, and sleep in model homes scattered throughout pastoral America.

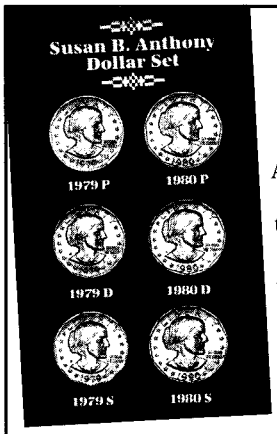
Unlikely, you say, and I agree; but that is how premises often are, not least in such a masterpiece as *King Lear*. Lo finds her accumulating baby fat to be advanced pregnancy, and wants to have, though not keep, her baby. So the girls abduct a woman in her forties, Elaine, who works in a maternity store, and whom they mistake for a trained nurse. For childbirth, they hole up in a vacant summer home off the beaten path. Elaine is held prisoner by means of a chain on her feet with a combination lock. In the daytime, she hops about; at night, she struggles to crack the combination. But Manny, a brainy kid, has found the paper scroll on which Elaine records the combinations she has tried, and can estimate how long it will take the woman to free herself.

Despite everything, a sort of family feeling springs up between captors and captive, and there are a few amusing incidents involving others as well. Still, as so often with low-budget movies, there is a feeling of a near-uninhabited world, with the characters adrift in a vacuum. But the two characterful girls and the lonely woman coming to enjoy even such parlous company make for an unusual enough threesome. And baby makes four, wherewith things debouch on a well-earned, smiling conclusion.

Mary Kay Place gives a succulently querulous performance as Elaine, and Scarlett Johansson (Manny) and Aleksa Palladino (Lo) are burstingly natural and believable. This first feature by the writer-director Lisa Krueger was shot by her brother, Tom, to complete the brimming familial beatitude.

■ It may be that if you speak Scots, do not care about narrative logic, relish scatology, and enjoy watching young heroin addicts go about their business (which includes crimes in obtaining the drugs), you will find ***Trainspotting*** a triumph. If not, you may wonder what's going on half the time, and why you should care the rest. The dialogue, which is occasionally quite funny, is only intermittently decipherable, although the soundtrack has been re-edited for ears not trained in spotting dialect-shrouded meanings.

The film sometimes turns surreal, as when a youth excretes his druggy sup-



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positories into what styles itself "the worst toilet in Scotland," then crawls head-first into it and swims through, er, muddy waters to retrieve them. (You may be relieved to learn that in Irvine Wells's novel, this episode, like so much else, is even less savory.) At other times, the stuff, even without hitting the fan, flies through the air. Some of this is Rabelaisianly uproarious: most of it merely gross.

The film's continuity is deliberately discontinuous, but that is in keeping with nerves as raw as frayed jeans. Good acting all around, with the psychotic Begbie of Robert Carlyle most virtuosic, and Ewan McGregor's Renton, the protagonist, very nearly appealing. Danny Boyle has directed with condign jaggedness, and Brian Tufano's cinematography executes poster-art effects rivetingly. *Trainspotting* may well offer catchy fine points on second viewing, if only one could get over the first. □

SOUND ON DISC

Salvaged from Schmaltz

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THE music coming in on the car radio was Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, but it was being murdered. The slow tempos were too slow, the fast too fast, the piano passages overstated, and schmaltz was destroying the crisp evocation of 1920s jazz. "André Previn," I said to my wife. And so it was, as it was eventually announced. The *Rhapsody* has long been the victim of attempts to give it long-hair vapors, and those who really love the piece should turn to the original Paul Whiteman rendition with the composer at the piano, which the Smithsonian issued in its historic Gershwin compendium.

Comes now a new recording which moves in another direction. In *Portraits in Blue* (Sony SK 68488), the very fine young jazz pianist Marcus Roberts has added to the *Rhapsody in Blue* a series of strictly jazz improvisations based on Gershwin's score. What Gershwin might have felt about this is anyone's guess, but I suspect he would have approved. For the Roberts jazz cadenzas are fine in themselves, and appropriate to the score; they give the work contemporaneity, and also bring it back to the composer's intent. Included on the CD is an orchestration by William Grant Still, the great and forgotten composer and arranger, of James P. Johnson's piano score of his "opera" *Yamekraw*, a work that has been completely and undeservedly forgotten. With Roberts in these efforts are the Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra and members of the Orchestra of St. Luke's, Robert Sadin conducting.

Mr. Toledano is the author of Frontiers of Jazz *and many other books.*

■ A new recording of *Man of La Mancha* (Sony 46436), the musical comedy that opened quietly off-Broadway in 1965 and became a runaway international hit, introduces its program notes with a quotation from the Spanish philosopher-poet Miguel de Unamuno: "Only he who attempts the absurd is capable of achieving the impossible." They are good words to bear in mind when considering that combination of mysticism and buffoonery, *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*—a book that seems to have been supplanted in high-school curricula by Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying*. What made *Man* a great hit was its rejection of the all-elbows "modern" tonalities with which Leonard Bernstein and others had corrupted Broadway musicals, and its return to the kind of melodic and tuneful richness of, say, *My Lady*. Don Quixote is very nicely sung by Plácido Domingo, who seems much more comfortable singing light classics and Latin popular music than he is on the stage of the Met. An able cast and Paul Gemignani at the helm of the American Theatre Orchestra give a solid performance.

What Gershwin might have felt about this is anyone's guess, but I suspect he would have approved

■ It was the French poet, Théophile Gautier, inspired by Heine's *De l'Allemagne*, who with librettist Vernoy de Saint-Georges conceived the ballet *Giselle*. With the music of Adolphe Adam, it became one of the great achievements of Romantic ballet. Its swinging cantilenas and dance rhythms capture the mood of Heine's passionate dancing maidens who "waltz pitilessly . . . in a mist softened by German moonlight" and die before their wedding day. It is a lovely score lyrically traversed by Anatole Fistoulari and the London Symphony Orchestra (Mercury 434 365-2). Included in this two-CD set is that rollicking war horse, Jacques Offenbach's *Gaîté Parisienne*, with the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra conducted by Antal Dorati.

■ The two great sources of Western music have been the Catholic liturgy and the songs of the folk. Yet though Spain produced the finest of early liturgical composers, Tomás Luis de Victoria, and the great outpouring in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of religious and secular song—the *cantigas* and the *romances*—as well as the later gypsy inspiration of the *flamenco* and the *cante hondo*—Spanish music became tied to the guitar, and its tonalities and melodic cast continue to derive from the *cuadro flamenco* and the cornets of the bull ring. It is in this context that we must measure Joaquín Rodrigo, born in 1901, and still alive today. His *Concierto de Aranjuez*, for guitar and orchestra, and his *Concierto Andaluz*, for four guitars and orchestra (Mercury 434 369-2), are works of which it can be remarked that they speak beautifully what others have been saying in the last nine or ten decades. What this record brings is the fine playing of the four brothers Romero, guitarists par excellence.

■ In the popular field: *Aznavour: Greatest Golden Hits* (Angel 33703) and *Come Rain or Come Shine: The Harold Arlen Songbook* (Philips 446 818-2). Charles Aznavour, a darling of French films and the Paris *boîtes*, sings English translations of his Gallic hits, which lose their

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verbal wit. But there is Aznavour's delivery, though not quite what it is in the French, and this still appeals.

The Harold Arlen collection prompts the question, Why? It forges together André Previn and Sylvia McNair, who bring out the worst in each other. These songs have been superlatively recorded by Ella Fitzgerald, Judy Garland, and Lee Wiley. Miss McNair has a good voice, but she tends to be flat, she takes the ballads too slowly, and her departures from the melody are disastrous. Harold Arlen wrote for Broadway, Hollywood, and Tin Pan Alley, and he was a good vocalist. His songs never strayed from a jazz beat, and they all had meaning—but neither Previn nor McNair understands this. With a good accompanist, Miss McNair might do very well, but the Previn schmaltz does her in.

■ The New Orleans marching bands would play dirges on the way to the cemetery and at the graveside, then turn their aprons and beat it out, perhaps to send the departed happily on his way. The Preservation Jazz Band brought the generations together in re-creating the music of the early jazz era unencumbered by later sophistication. It now offers *In the Sweet Bye & Bye* (Sony SK 62363), which gives us this religious side of New Orleans jazz—both the hymns and the back-to-town pacers. Many of them sound much like that New Orleans march Louis Armstrong revived, "When the Saints Go Marching In," but they all reflect the harmonies of pre–World War I jazz. These are fine burying tunes and you may want them for the next funeral—yours or mine. □

DELECTATIONS

Comedy Tomorrow—Tragedy Tonight

LINDA BRIDGES

MY Shakespeare professor told his classes that he had never seen a satisfactory performance of *King Lear* and did not expect to. This is not because *Lear* poses the sorts of nearly insoluble questions of motivation that *Othello* does (theatrical legend has Shakespeare saying to Burbage, à propos of Othello, "There, you whoreson, I've written a part even you'll not be able to play"), but simply because the casting difficulties are so great. Not, again, at the top: Lear requires great depth and power, but there are actors in every generation who have those qualities (just as, although I have never seen a good Lady Macbeth, I'm confident that someday I shall). No, the problem in *King Lear* is that, to a greater degree even than *Hamlet*, it has a huge *number* of characters who must be well cast if the play is to work. I've now seen it work for the second time, both at Stratford, Ontario, and thereby hangs a tale.

The key is the nature of a repertory company—which of course is what Shakespeare himself was writing for. How, on Broadway, could you persuade an actor capable of playing the Duke of Albany—capable, that is, of showing this rather weak and ambitious man's growing disgust with his wife's ruthlessness—to take a role in which he gets to say only a handful of lines? But in a repertory company the man who plays this small but important part tonight may well have top billing in something else tomorrow night. Similarly, Cordelia, one of the most famous roles in all literature, has fewer than a hundred lines (theatrical legend, again, has it that on the Jacobean stage, the boy who played the Fool doubled as Cordelia). And yet, if the actress cannot, in those lines and in her bearing, convey pity without sentimentality, and real forgiveness, then the redemption that precedes the final horror will fall flat, no matter how great the actor playing Lear (or, for that matter, those playing Kent and Edgar). Finding the right girl for the part is immeasurably easier if she will be playing it only one night in four, with bigger (even if less great) roles the other nights.

In this season's *Lear,* directed by Richard Monette (who played the bastard son Edmund in Robin Phillips's marvelous production a dozen or so years ago), William Hutt's Lear is as powerful as one would hope. Mr. Hutt is not especially well known outside Canada, but he is a treasure of the English-speaking theater, who seems to gain depth with each passing year (he is now 76). In this play, from the initial anger tinged with petulance as Cordelia shatters his complacent certainty that she will do exactly as he expects; through the increasingly heart-stricken but still self-regarding realization that he has fatally misjudged; through the desperate attempts to hold onto his sanity; through the rage on the heath; to the glorious happiness of his penultimate scene with Cordelia; to the final despair—this is every inch King Lear.

Cordelia (Colombe Demers, new to Stratford) is not the only one in this play to give the lie to the cynics who say that goodness and selflessness add up to literary boredom. Kent (Lewis Gordon, who will be playing Lear in some per-

Miss Bridges, NR*'s managing editor, is co-author of* The Art of Persuasion *(NR Books).*

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formances), the Fool (Jordan Pettle, in his second Stratford season), and Edgar (Peter Donaldson, who as Jamie in *Long Day's Journey* was a very different kind of son last season) are each in his highly individual way characterized by their unstinting love for the play's foolish, sinning, but—yes, after all—more sinned-against old men, Lear and the Earl of Gloucester (Eric Donkin).

My only quibbles are over the love (or, really, lust-and-power) triangle of Edmund (Geordie Johnson), Goneril (Diane d'Aquila), and Regan (Martha Burns). The sexuality is awfully coarse, even for these brachs; and whereas Mr. Monette, under Robin Phillips's direction, gave Edmund real shading, showing the bastard son's pain at his father's ill-placed jocularity, Mr. Johnson under Mr. Monette's direction plays him as preening in his own evil from the start. The text can pretty much support both readings, although "I pant for life. Some good I mean to do, despite of mine own nature" and "Yet Edmund *was* beloved" seem to flow better out of the former. Bleak as this play is (as my professor put it, "The gods, Lord knows, are no bargain in this play"), I can't fully agree with Mr. Monette's reference in the program to the events in *King Lear* as ones "in which I see nothing redemptive in Christian terms." Edgar *does* save his father from despair, even if he can't save his life; Edmund *does* try to countermand the terrible dénouement; Kent remains loyal to the end. Upon such sacrifices, the gods themselves throw incense.

ANY region that has one such repertory company is blessed; southern Ontario is twice bless'd, with the Shaw Festival less than three hours away in Niagara on the Lake. This festival's mandate is to perform "the plays of Bernard Shaw and his contemporaries." Since artistic director Christopher Newton knows that "contemporary" and "coeval" are not synonyms, and since Bernard Shaw lived from 1856 to 1950, that gives a rather wide range, which the Festival exploits fully.

And that yields one of the other joys of repertory: watching the same actors move from, say, the brittle wit of Oscar Wilde's 1890s in *An Ideal Husband*, to the provincial genteelness and brutality of an 1880s Lancashire mill town in Harold Brighouse's *Hobson's Choice*, to the eccentricities of a 1930s country-house party in Agatha Christie's *The Hollow*, to the phony Eastern wisdom and sharp Western satire of Shaw's own *Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*. In some cases the actors' physical identity isn't concealed from one role to another, and yet the characters live in their individuality, each in his own context (Jennifer Phipps, say, as the quite conventional Lady Markby in *Ideal Husband* and as the delicious Lucy Angkatell in *The Hollow*, whose conversational leaps puzzle even her husband and her nieces and nephews, though not always her butler); in others, a change of hair color, accent, and range of facial expressions makes the actor unrecognizable (I hadn't realized until I was writing this that Allan Gray, the sparkling aesthete Lord Goring in *Ideal Husband*, was also the no-nonsense Scots doctor in *Hobson's Choice*). What *is* recognizable in all these plays is the human condition in its often sad, often maddening, but glorious variety. □

The gods, Lord knows, are no bargain in King Lear

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Who's Afraid of the Religious Right? by Don Feder (Regnery, 318 pp., $24.95)

SYNDICATED columnist Don Feder is tired of hearing the Religious Right demonized. As he sees it, God-fearing folks have held back from public life far too much since the 1960s, ceding American culture to an increasingly ambitious movement of pagans, radical egalitarians, and sexual liberationists. An observant Jew, Feder is especially pained by his co-religionists' hostility to the moral priorities of their own tradition, priorities shared by serious Christians. The columns collected here touch on a range of subjects—from abortion and Hollywood to UN peacekeeping and the budget—but they return again and again to Feder's favorite theme: personal responsibility and the unique capacity of churches and synagogues, families and schools to promote it. He is a particularly able critic of the various fashionable determinisms invoked by the Left to justify vice and wrongdoing. If his tone is often that of a slightly overstarched Sunday-school teacher, he can be forgiven—that's just about what we need these days. —GARY ROSEN

License to Steal: The Forfeiture of Property, by Leonard W. Levy (University of North Carolina, 288 pp., $29.95)

ASSET forfeiture has a sinister pedigree—indeed, one that can fairly be called un-American. Professor Leonard Levy of Claremont examines this emerging threat to property rights in this excellent new book. Levy explicates the two components of the government's asset-forfeiture effort, civil and criminal (differentiated according to the type of legal proceeding required to effect them). Both components are a growing part of law enforcement in the United States. Civil forfeiture rests on the atavistic theory that inanimate objects can commit offenses against the sovereign. The underlying legal doctrine of deodands was the shabby medieval rationalization for royal plunder. (Yes, "deo-" refers to the allegedly divine authority of the government.) Civil forfeiture has great appeal to the modern law-enforcement agency: objects, unlike people, have no due-process rights. Once the government seizes property, the former owner has astonishingly scant means or hope of recovering it. Levy demonstrates that law-enforcement agents therefore now often find it easier and more lucrative to plunder the innocent than to punish the guilty. Criminal forfeiture—that is, forfeiture as a component of punishment following criminal conviction—offers due process to the citizen but also has an alien history. A hated element of British colonial rule, criminal forfeiture was so loathed by Americans that it was abolished by the *First* Congress in 1790. It remained in disrepute until it was casually disinterred in 1970 in two federal "anti-racketeering" statutes. Levy details how criminal forfeiture has since been abused as a threat against defendants. Society might well have been better off had it not been revived.
—JAMES HIGGINS

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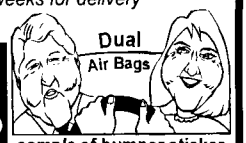

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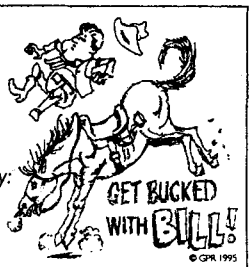

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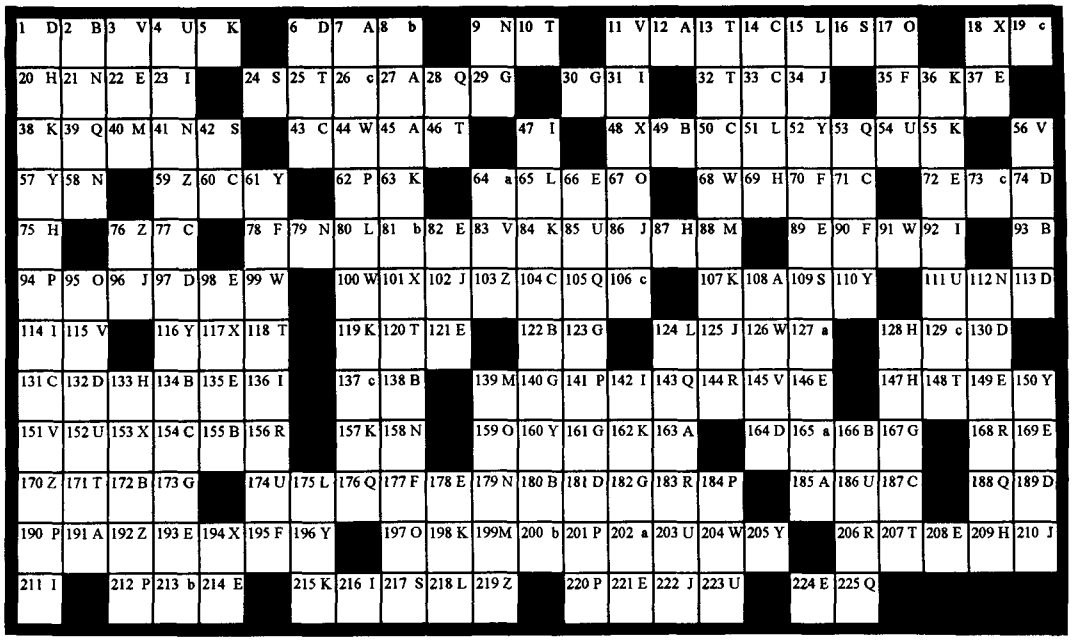
TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

A. Home to U.S. forces in Iceland — 27 163 185 7 12 108 191 45

B. Unmanly, voluptuous — 93 2 138 49 166 122 155 180 134 172

C. Disease which nearly halted the Panama Canal (2 words) — 71 77 33 43 104 131 50 154 14 60 187

D. Close cousin of Dr. Kevorkian's brand of medicine — 130 74 181 189 6 97 113 164 132 1

E. Final drama in Aeschylus' Oedipan trilogy (3 words) — 146 37 221 82 121 98 89 66 178 214 22 / 193 208 72 135 224 169 149

F. What the media largely do with Clintonistas cant — 177 195 78 70 90 35

G. Rehabilitated (fig.) — 173 161 140 182 123 30 167 29

H. "The good is oft ——— with their bones." — 209 133 128 87 75 20 69 147

I. Douglass's abolitionist paper (2 words) — 211 31 142 114 216 92 23 47 136

J. Guffaw — 102 125 210 96 86 34 222

K. Stated differently (3 words) — 157 63 198 215 36 84 5 38 107 162 55 / 119

L. Eldridge Cleaver was a Black one — 80 15 175 124 65 51 218

M. Rendered fat — 199 139 40 88

N. Site of Hamlet's castle — 79 41 158 21 58 9 179 112

O. Small, mean — 197 95 159 67 17

P. Taciturn — 190 141 94 62 212 220 184 201

Q. Arcane, cabalistic — 225 176 39 53 28 105 143 188

R. He staked Henry VII's claim in the New World — 144 206 168 183 156

S. LDS missionary, for example — 217 24 42 109 16

T. Dalmatian-born soldier who became Rome's Emperor — 118 148 25 207 13 46 171 120 32 10

U. Thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal are in this group — 4 152 111 186 203 223 174 85 54

V. Louis Armstrong, affectionately — 83 145 3 11 115 56 151

W. Italian composer for all seasons — 100 126 68 204 99 91 44

X. What many long to see a grand jury do to the Clintons — 194 117 48 101 18 153

Y. Quack — 150 160 116 110 205 52 61 57 196

Z. Mother of the Oceanids — 170 219 103 76 59 192

a. New England lawyer, patriot — 165 64 202 127

b. Harangue — 81 213 200 8

c. Long John Silver's complement to a bottle o' rum (3 words) — 106 26 19 137 129 73

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and the title (or topic) of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. MCARTHUR: *Verdict of History*: "History fails to record a single precedent in which nations subject to moral decay have not passed into political and economic decline. There has been either a spiritual awakening to overcome the moral lapse, or a progressive deterioration to ultimate national disaster."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Terrorists' Leverage

NEW YORK, JULY 30

Whoever did in TWA 800 must be very pleased, which makes one wonder why he has not taken the satisfaction of identifying himself. One can imagine a mafia-style meeting of terrorists in a dacha in Lebanon. One is there from the West Bank, one from Syria, from Iran, from Libya, from Ireland. Maybe a North Korean is there, and then one or two who have privatized the art, a Kaczynski type; maybe a militiaman. They cackle about TWA and one of them gives a little proprietary shrug of the shoulders, which brings from the other end of the table, "Get off that, Buster-ali. You had nothing to do with TWA." Eyes travel to him. Does he mean . . . the credit should go to *his* organization?

Perhaps they simply settle for a sense of common accomplishment. They have undoubtedly committed something that, in their books, would be accepted as a quite exquisite crime. Everyone dead, spectacular attention world-wide, day after day. Two weeks have gone by and those fancy American investigators haven't even established that it was an explosion! And all of America is tensing up! I mean, it's the best scene, maybe, since Dallas. And what are those cocky Americans going to do?

Good question. Benjamin Stein wrote a few weeks ago that the primary burden of the underclass in America isn't a lack of food or education or shelter. It is a life of insecurity. Their children at school are bullied, their apartments are time and again burgled (in Albany, Georgia, the husband of the woman killed at the Olympic Games rushed off to the hospital. When he got home he found his house burgled), the drug traffickers corrupt their children, and at night they have to lock themselves in to minimize exposure to violence. The great leverage of violence. The skyjacker's leverage, I called it years ago when the practice began of brandishing a pistol in the face of the pilot and telling him to fly the plane to Havana.

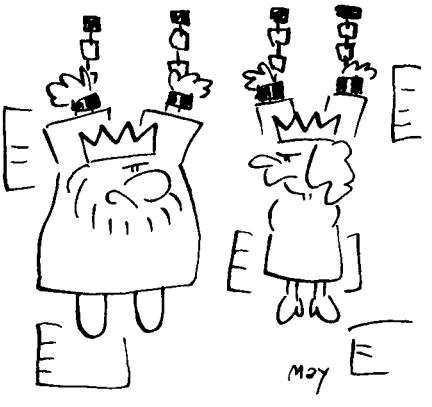
We made headway against the hijackers. But we have over that species the advantage of imposing on them the same fate that would have befallen the crew and passengers if the plane had crashed. It was in the interest of the hijackers to keep the plane functioning. And since it had to land somewhere, the odds were always against them. After a while even Castro tired of giving them sanctuary, the United States passed a law authorizing the death penalty for a murdering hijacker, and Americans began funneling their hand luggage through security machines and being frisked when they forgot to empty their pocket of the tin cigar wrapper.

A modus vivendi was achieved. The skyjacking went way down, and Americans added airport security to the general overhead of life in modern times. Now there is what appears a revival of the art, without the foreplay of the skyjacker demanding merely a flight to Cuba or Lebanon. This time around, as with Air India and Pan Am and now TWA, they will settle for simply killing everybody on board.

Viewed as nothing more than an abrasion of modern life, the cost is incidental. Catastrophic to the victims and their families, but statistically negligible, not even on the same chart with cigarette smoking or driving while drunk. But the great victory of the terrorist is precisely the progressive burden of air travel. Every American who travels, say, twenty times every year by plane is even now paying the equivalent of five to ten hours of tribute to the terrorists, if you assume 15 minutes to one half hour per flight consumed by security. The prospect is for much much more than that, on international flights especially. They are talking about check-in two or three hours before flight time. Once again, the equivalent of paying a tribute of two hours to an unknown terrorist for exercising the freedom to travel.

Can we generate a purposive anger? We can always sit at home and rage against the killers, but that's pretty Platonic stuff, doesn't hurt them a bit if we just steam every time we think of them.

There is only one way to apply direct pressure. We know that Syria and Iran and Libya are training terrorists, but we are not in a mood simply to bomb population centers there. We need discriminating targets, and to develop them we need abundant counter-intelligence. The G-7 powers are meeting now to consider retaliatory action. The imagination here should be encouraged. The easiest and most urgent step is a gaudy reward for anyone who will lead us to the terrorist. We know there are two holed up in Libya right now, responsible for the Pan Am Lockerbie incident. Perdicaris-alive-or-Rasuli-dead is the language we should be using with Mr. Qaddafi. □



"OK. OK. You were right *about talk radio."*

Olympic Talk

NEW YORK, JULY 19

Many years ago I wrote advocating that the Olympic Games abandon their insistence, progressively abandoned by competing athletes, on amateur standing. This view was arrived at not because the idea of amateur competition isn't appealing, but because the temptations to cheat overwhelm men and women born with Original Sin. The price we paid back then was especially galling inasmuch as the eyes of the world inevitably focused on Soviet and American athletes. As good Marxists, the Soviet leaders thought of success in sports as a revolutionary goal, to which end baby girls and boys were treated like geese prepared for pâté. We did okay, and of course other nations won individual events, but the Soviet Union regularly amassed the great pile of gold medals, which proved nothing much more than that if you train very young people to perform athletically, they will do so, if the natural material is there.

A subtle point arose, momentarily disquieting. The Olympic ideal, as fashioned when the competition resumed a hundred years ago, asked of the young athletes that they struggle to achieve glory for themselves, to be sure, but above all for their country. The Transylvanian athlete fought and won for the glory of Transylvania. What rankled, in the Soviet years, was the force-fed assumption that young athletes were joyously shedding their bloody sweat for the glory of the monstrous government that tyrannized them.

The paradox was made possible by a careful refinement of cultural lenses. You begin by accosting the unchallenged fact that soldiers tend to fight just as hard, just

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as courageously, for Adolf Hitler as for Winston Churchill. The kamikaze Japanese war pilots thought themselves fortunate to be chosen to glorify their Emperor and their religion.

Well then, why the surprise that an athlete, engrossed in his activity, proceeds to do his best irrespective of the political ends he is serving? But of course if that were entirely true—that the sponsoring country means nothing—then the depoliticization of the Olympics would have been achieved.

Richard Grenier reminded us in these pages that what formally ended Olympian hypocrisy about amateur athletics was a scholarly book, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*, published in 1984. Its author, David Young, is a classics scholar, and his research taught us that in the great Olympic days about which so much has been said in poetry and in song, contestants were professionally trained and demanded professional compensation. When the Games resumed in 1896 (the Olympics were banned by the Emperor Theodosius in 393 A.D.), so fixed was the idea of the amateur that one Princeton undergraduate petitioned Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the Olympics' guiding light, for advice. He thought to enter the discus contest but acknowledged that he had just one time thrown an Olympic discus. Would Baron de Coubertin think it frivolous to compete under the circumstances?—He won the gold medal.

The malcontents tell us that the Olympics is destroyed by the commercialization of the event. But one's eyes become inoculated to commercial aggressions. If the America's Cup contender can put up a spinnaker advertising Preparation-H, then why not permit the McDonaldization of the food concessions in Atlanta? And if *Sports Illustrated* is willing to pay $40 million to become the official program guide, what's wrong with that, if it was the highest bidder? It can be objected that obsession with a sport can ruin a life. We are given the forlorn vision of the runner one-thousandth of a second behind the winner, the one man lionized and a multi-millionaire at twenty, the other ignored.

But life is as it is. The young music student who applies himself for six hours every day to his art and somehow, for some reason, does not succeed—how to shelter him? In sports there is the unique advantage: There can be a perfectly reasonable division of opinion as to who should be given the Tchaikovsky piano award. But there is no arguing with a stopwatch.

And finally there is the consoling liberty. Those who wish to do so can ignore the Olympic Games. The line being bandied about is: "Fifty per cent of the people of the world will watch the Olympics!" But another line creeps into the act, and gets quiet attention: "Fifty per cent of the people of the world will *not* watch the Olympics!" □

Pity Joe Klein

NEW YORK, JULY 26

Okay, on the Joe Klein matter, a few observations.

1. When Joe Klein decided not to affix his own name to the novel he had written, based on Bill Clinton's primary campaign, he needed to make a corollary decision. This one he had not thought through. That decision was, of course, that to the extent that he was held suspect of being Anonymous, he would need to deny the charge. To deny that particular charge is a little different from saying to the Customs Officer who routinely asks you whether you brought in any liquor or cigars, "No." The field of probable authors quickly narrowed, so that he found himself in the position of saying to the Customs Officer, "I don't care *what* you heard about the cigars I bought in Geneva. It had to be a mistaken identity, some other guy. They are *not* mine, *not* in my baggage." To speak in that way changes the focus.

Yet who says A, the adage goes, must say B. If you are going to deny something, you may find yourself having to deny it ardently, which Joe Klein did, even to some of his colleagues, causing great pain.

Sissela Bok of Harvard wrote a book a few years ago upholding the Kantian position that no lie is ever permissible. The Gestapo careens into your farmhouse and asks breathlessly and menacingly, Where did the escapee Sol Steinmetz go when he left your house? You had dispatched him on the left lane into the forest. You may not tell the questioner that he went off on the right lane, says Kant/Bok. Involved in this thesis are formidable questions of ethics with profound implications. But it is generally accepted that when, on the silver anniversary, the wife looks at you and says, "Am I still the most beautiful woman in the world?" you can answer, "Yes," without committing the sin of bearing false witness.

2. Joe Klein's prevarication can't convincingly be held to impugn his integrity as a political reporter. Said Kenneth Auletta, "Joe fibbed, and that's not acceptable. He not only hurts himself, he hurts the business of journalism." Really, that rebuke is not earned. Joe Klein can hardly be compared with Janet Cooke, who contrived a mythical welfare child in Washington in order to activate just the right lachrymal glands; which she did, going on to earn a Pulitzer Prize until the hoax was discovered. Klein is a terrific political commentator and critic, and there are zero reasons to suppose that because he would dissimulate on the matter of the novel, he would fabricate material in order to buttress an interpretation or a characterization. One commentator did observe that in fleshing out the character of Bill Clinton and one or two others he attributed, in the novel, useful characteristics, and invented handy episodes that helped the yarn and suggested that, in his mind, he thought himself doing a fuller portrait than entitled to do from the public record. Well, that is entirely permissible so long as he does not introduce the fictional Clinton into the actual Clinton he writes about.

I interrupt to beg your forgiveness for two personal references, here made because they are madly relevant. In 1971, we produced at NATIONAL REVIEW "The Secret Pentagon Papers." Our point was to counter the Pentagon Papers that, published a month earlier, suggested that the entire high command of the United States was cynically conspiring to engage in war with North Vietnam pointlessly and with subjective knowledge that the war could not be won. We affixed to specious memorandums the names of generals, admirals, and State Department specialists. We expected the hoax to be revealed in a day or two, but what happened was that when confronted with the fake memos, the putative authors refused to disown them. "I don't remember that memo, but I wouldn't deny I wrote it" was the typical answer. This was a nice confirmation of the point we sought to make—that undisclosed Pentagon papers validated the sincerity of the effort being made in Vietnam. Happily, I was abroad during the five days when, in general, the press accepted the authenticity of the documents and did not therefore confront the problem Klein needed to confront, "Are these—really—authentic, Mr. Buckley?"

And then in 1975 I began to write novels based on the cold war. *Saving the Queen* was the first, *A Very Private Plot* the tenth and last. I dearly wish I had thought to write them under another name, because half the book reviews dwelled on the author, rather than the book; or, to the extent they dwelled on the book, they dwelled on it as a creature of the author, renowned for his reactionary views on this, that, and the other favorite cause of the reviewer. I quite understand Klein's wish to pass off a work of fiction as something other than the work of the political commentator for *Newsweek*, and herewith convey to him my reactionary felicitations on his near-success. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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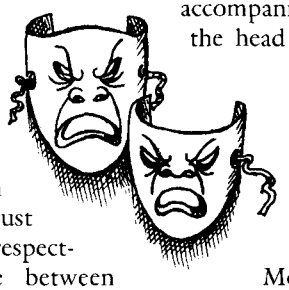
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

AT last Hillary has done something I can identify with. Before you swoon, let me say that an interest in psychic phenomena is not incompatible with conservatism. That old rip of the Old Right, novelist Taylor Caldwell, believed in reincarnation. Shortly before she died she wrote a book describing her former life as a kitchen maid in the home of George Eliot.

My main objection to Hillary's psychic quest is her taste in ghosts. Why would anyone want to talk to Eleanor Roosevelt and Mahatma Gandhi? Unless the spirit world has turned them in the direction of rational thought and logical discourse—not something a spirit world is likely to do—they must make even less sense now than they did when they were alive.



Moreover, they're too new. People I can remember, who were on the earth during my own sojourn, just don't seem metaphysically respectable. That's the difference between liberal necromancers and conservative necromancers; the former will commune with anybody but the latter snub *arriviste* ghosts.

Hillary and I also have different reasons for conjuring. She does it for guidance but all I want is information. For example, I would love to ask Eleanor of Aquitaine if she invented flossing. This is a theory of mine that I've taken up with several dentists, all of whom seemed to think I was a little odd. Nonetheless, I believe I have a point.

Consider: Living to the age of 82 was amazing enough in the 12th century, but Eleanor (1122-1204) kept almost all of her teeth as well. I believe she accidentally discovered flossing while embroidering. Medieval women embroidered miles of tapestries so we can be sure they developed the bad habit common to all women who sew: biting the thread when they couldn't find their scissors.

One day in the bower, Eleanor got the thread caught between her teeth and couldn't get it out. A crisis ensued, with lots of ladies hovering in trepidation as Eleanor worked the thread up and down and around until it came out. When she saw specks of rotting food clinging to it, a good habit was born.

I'd welcome *anyone* who attended the funeral of the Duchesse de Montpensier in 1693. I've read about it in Saint-Simon's memoirs and biographies of Louis XIV, but no mere printed page can do justice to this story. It's the kind of story that people dine out on, the kind of story that makes those privy to it friends for life, the kind of story accompanied by a fond shaking of the head and a nostalgic sigh, "I'll never forget the time. . . ." I think of it whenever I see the beer commercial with the "old times, old friends" motif. It's that kind of story.

The Duchesse de Montpensier was the daughter of Louis XIII's younger brother, and thus first cousin to Louis XIV. As the oldest female of royal blood at court, she was called "Grande Mademoiselle." According to the custom of the time, when she died her heart was entombed in a chapel, while her entrails went into a sealed urn that was placed on a sideboard in the mourning room at Versailles, where pairs of noblewomen chosen by the king took turns watching over it round the clock. It was all done with exquisite taste; from the solemn major domo to the susurrating murmur of the nuns at prayer, the occasion exemplified punctilious court etiquette and stoic neoclassical grief.

Malheureusement, Grande Mademoiselle's badly embalmed entrails had fermented, producing enough gases to turn the sealed urn into a bomb. Suddenly there was a deafening explosion, followed by a hideous stench. Pandemonium erupted; ladies screamed, chevaliers fought each other to reach the doors, fleeing priests trampled doddering old marquises as, gasping for air, the mourners poured onto the lawns in abject panic.

When they found out what had happened they reverted to type. "All was perfumed and restored," writes Saint-Simon, "and the commotion was made light of." It was that kind of story, and I'd love to hear it.

MY welcome mat is always out for Adelaide Bartlett, she of *Regina* v. *Bartlett* (1886), one of the great English murder cases.

Edward Bartlett was a prosperous wholesale grocer with some very advanced ideas. Hankering presumably for a threesome, he introduced his wife, Adelaide, to a wispy young clergyman named George Dyson and encouraged them to spend time together while he was away at business. As a maid later testified, they spent a great deal of time together, none of it wasted.

That winter, Edward got sick. Adelaide nursed him, relying on Dyson to run errands to the chemist. When Edward died suddenly, his father, who had always hated Adelaide, told the police she had poisoned him. An autopsy was ordered. When the doctors opened the body, they nearly passed out from the fumes it gave off: Edward's stomach was awash in liquid chloroform.

The police soon discovered that Dyson had bought two bottles of chloroform from the chemist. When questioned, Adelaide explained that Edward was afflicted with satyriasis, and that to escape his ravenous lust she sometimes had to knock him out with a chloroform-soaked handkerchief held to his face. As to how it got into his stomach, she said he must have mistaken it for his medicine and drunk it.

Many more lurid sexual tidbits came out at her trial, but the defense focused on the core issue: whether it was possible to cajole or force someone to drink such a large quantity of a liquid as volatile as chloroform, which would vaporize during the struggle. A parade of forensic witnesses testified that she simply couldn't have gotten it down Edward's throat. The jury concluded that he had somehow drunk it on his own, and Adelaide was acquitted.

I'm not alone in wanting to talk to her. Afterwards, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons said, "I think that in the interests of science, she ought to tell us how she did it." □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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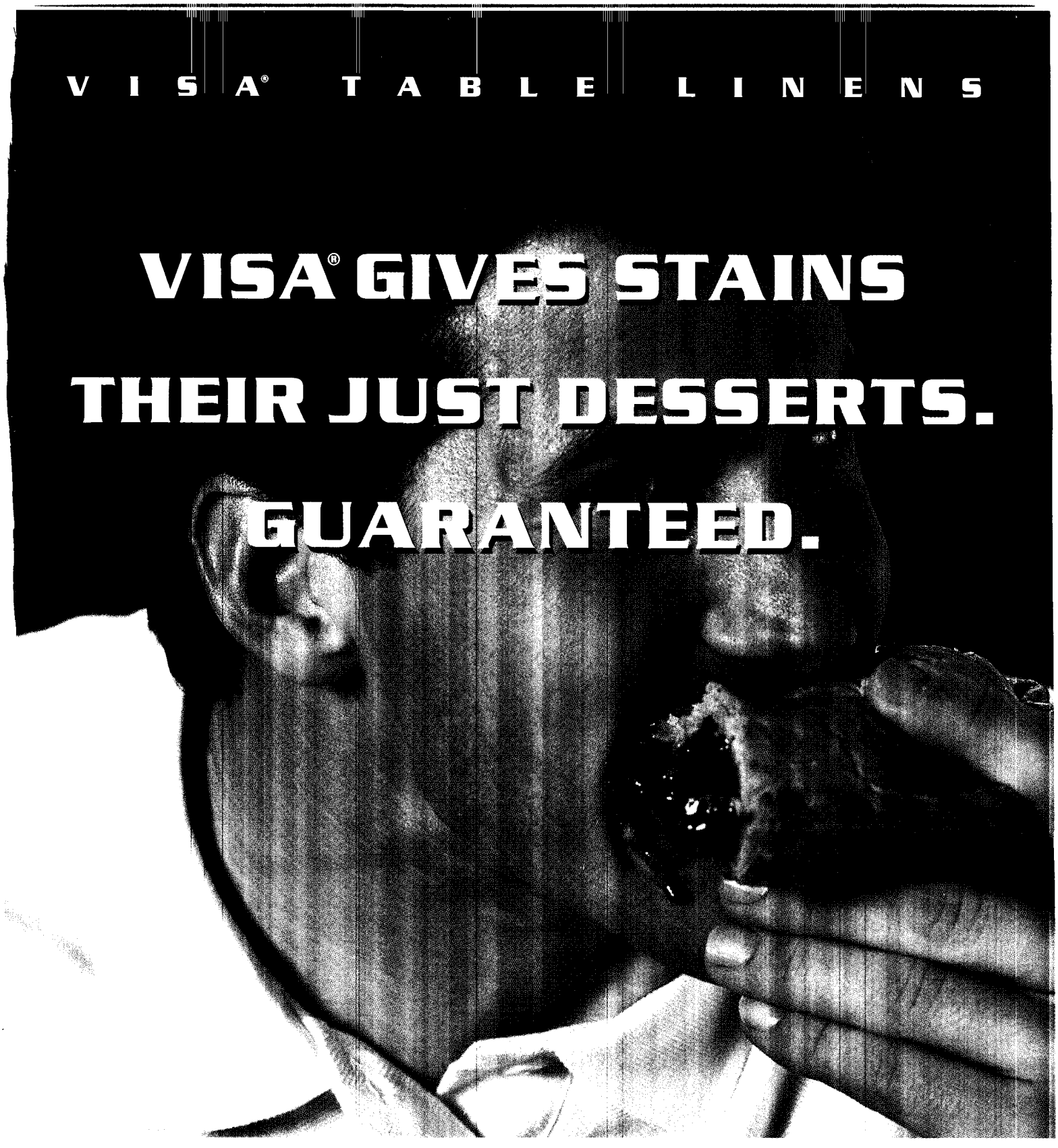

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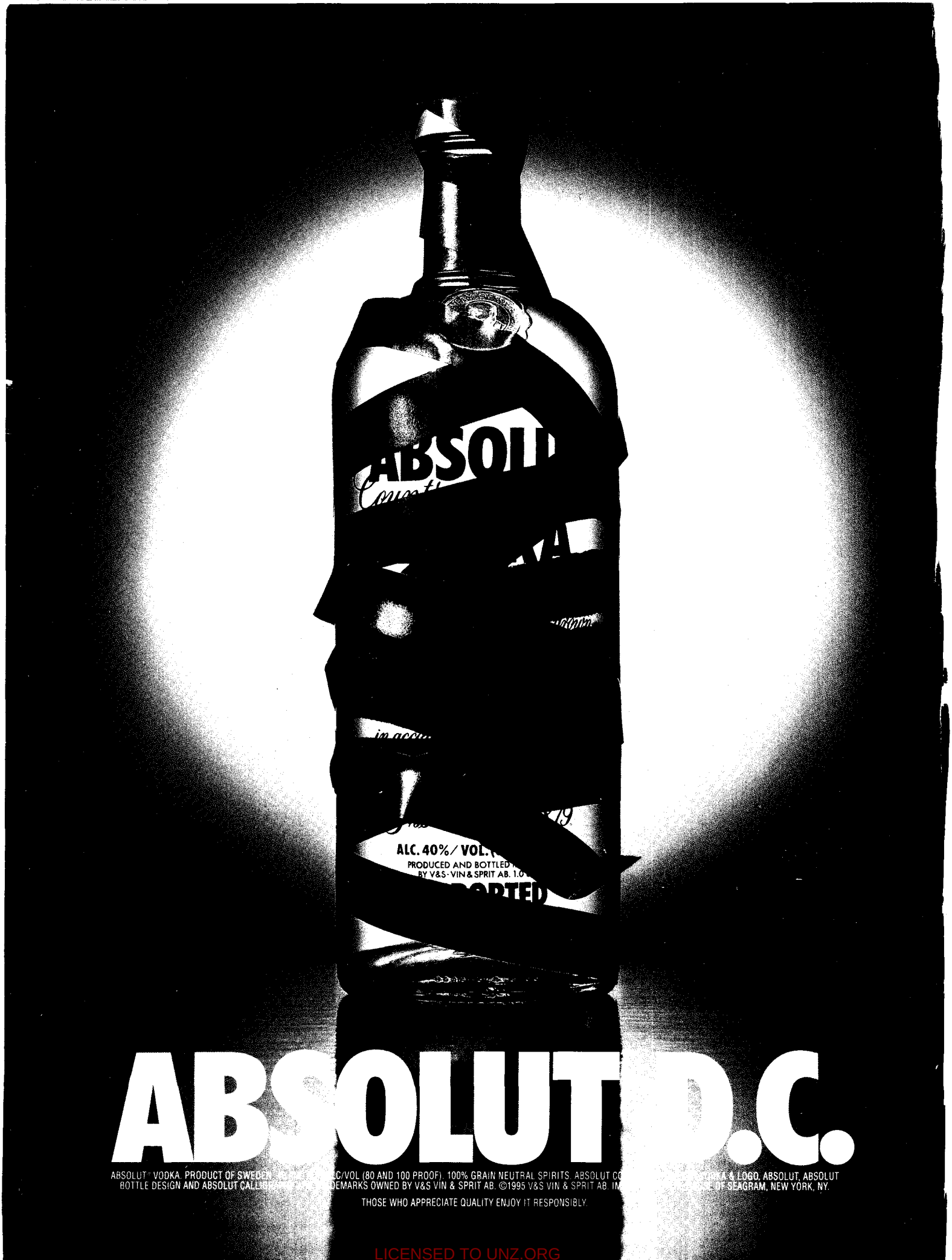

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